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REMARKS

ON THE

LETTER

TO

JOHN BUXTON, Esq; K

Falsus honor juvat et mendax infamia terret
Quem? nisi mendosum et mendacem? —

HOR.

Captain Gardiner

On foreign mountains may the sun refine
The grapes's soft juice, and mellow it to wine,
With citron groves adorn a distant soil,
And the fat olive swell with floods of oil:
We envy not the warmer clime that lies
In ten degrees of more indulgent skies:
'Tis LIBERTY that crowns Britannia's isle,
And makes her barren rocks, and her bleak mountains smile.

ADDISON'S Epistle to Lord HALIFAX.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXVIII.



REMARKS

ON THE

LETTER

TO

JOHN BUXTON, Esq; &c.

NEVER did any author set out with greater professions of candor, or a more affected air of impartiality, than the writer of this most extraordinary epistle; and never was a work carried on, and carried thro', with a greater spirit of party, and private rancour and malevolence; full of misrepresentation from beginning to end, and big with evasions, quirks, and quibbles: his favorite characters drawn not *as they are*, but *as he would have them to be*; set off in a glare of colours, and a borrow'd lustre thrown around them, while those of his oppo-

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nents are veiled in shades, clouded, and obscured in the darkest grounds.

It is the design of the following sheets to do justice to the injured, to try this artist's exhibitions by the mirror of truth, to see if his paintings will stand the test, to hold them out to public view, and to submit them to the judgement of men of observation and experience. We'll strip the foreign gilding off his favorite figures, and when they are discovered naked and unadorned, and are beheld in their genuine beauty or deformity, then let candor and unprejudiced opinion proclaim their value, and assert their real excellence.

His language is so exceedingly smooth at first, and he puts on such an appearance of tenderness to character, as if it gave him pain to wound, where most he labours to *destroy* : a few pages convince the reader that it is all sham, *Author's craft*, all pretence and affectation, being only to be compared to the soft greetings of the midnight murderer on the stage.

“ Don't be frightened, madam ; but if you offer to stir, I'll blow your brains out.”

Not to detain the reader with any further preface, we will enter at once upon this masterpiece of politicks and slander, which has been privately circulated with great industry amongst the party, and with great difficulty procured by

by their opponents; as if that party was conscious of it's defects, it's fallacious reasoning, and it's corrupt tendency, and all the brittle ingredients in it's composition; and the author or authors ashamed and afraid to have their confederate labours and joint production examined by any but prejudiced perusers, or laid open and arraigned at the bar of the impartial public. They write to please a *Junto*, and not to instruct a county.

Page 4, begins with a *common place* description of a contested election; the feuds and animosities, debauchery and riot, consequent upon it; it were to be wished indeed by every faithful member of a community, that these inconveniencies, or these *evils*, if the author pleases, were not the natural attendants on a public conflict; but they are unavoidable, and tho' impossible to be prevented altogether, yet by a happy disposition in the several leaders, and by a prudent and concurrent conduct in the candidates, they may be considerably reduced; they are the natural consequences of contending parties we must allow, and unavoidable for this reason; viz. from the stubborn obstinate perseverance of narrow minded, corrupt, and self-interested men who lost to all public spirit, deaf to the voice of liberty, and insensible of the blessings of that free constitution which

which distinguishes the happy British subject, above all others in the world, set themselves up in opposition and defiance to every champion in the cause of national virtue, and would sacrifice their own rights and privileges as Englishmen, provided they could trample upon those of others with impunity. They pursue this object with unremitting ardor and unrelenting rage; they are the first to blow the trumpet of sedition, and blindly follow the dictates of party passion, and the lust of power.

In proportion to the headstrong fury with which these enemies to their country exert their baneful influence, the friends and bulwarks of the public safety are compelled to act with vigor and with warmth; and hence arises, and to this alone is owing, that scene of confusion and disorder at elections, which all good men indifferently complain of, but which the best and wisest amongst us, know not how to remedy.

The truly British spirit that animates the defenders of our laws and liberties, is, by apostates of the above stamp, decried as *faction*; their generous attempts to secure the birth-right of the subject, or to repair the breaches in the common-wealth, are filed *seditious*, and tending to disturb the peace of the community: but I aver, that opposition to men of such
 pernicious

pernicious principles, is the only path that leads to true tranquility and peace.

The cry of the peace of a town and county is well defined to be “ The *Cant* language “ of the *party in possession*, which dreads “ to be disturbed,” and most commonly from a consciousness of their own ill conduct, which will not bear the scrutiny of a public examination; a past conduct that fills them with apprehensions, and makes them turn pale, and shudder at the thoughts of a just resentment in their constituents; whose actions but ill endure the light, which want the mist of corruption and deceit to cover them, and whose darling spectacle and object is a people lulled in supineness and indifference, whom they are no ways inclined to rouse themselves, and tremble to see roused by others. With what a panick was Sir A***** struck, on reading an advertisement requesting the attendance of such gentlemen at the shire house on the eighth day of October, who were NO FRIENDS to GENERAL WARRANTS? did he not skip like a pea upon a drum head? could he remain a moment in a place? was not the quicksilver in his whole body afloat? the fact is recent, was publicly known at the last assizes. What could create this alarm, this sudden revolution in his frame? the sound of GENERAL WARRANTS

RANTS could be no bugbear to the mind conscious of integrity, to the bosom armed with innocence: the steady disinterested patriot, the faithful representative of his constituents, bears his invulnerable breast-plate for ever about him.

Nil conscire sibi
rises superior to all attacks, and remains on all occasions unshaken and untterrified. But more of this hereafter in it's proper place.

The cry of peace, the *preservation of the peace*, which we are now upon, is as observed before, the common cant of the party in possession, of artful and designing men, the panders to power and ambition; it is ever thrown out in favour of the sitting members, let their conduct in parliament have been ever so exceptionable, ever so injurious to the true interest of their country or their constituents, or their notions ever so incompatible with the freedom of the state, and the liberty of the subject.

Is it not the cant word made use of now in favor of those representatives, who have all along attached themselves to a ministry pursuing unconstitutional measures of government? who acted with them, consulted with them, voted with them? will Mr. Buxton's new and impartial correspondent deny this? he cannot deny it with truth, any more than he can that

Sir

Sir A***** voted in favour of GENERAL WARRANTS, which we shall shew hereafter: by which unpopular and dangerous vote to the community, the liberty of every inhabitant, not only in this great county, which he has *now* the honor to represent, but in the whole kingdom, was exposed to hourly assaults, and their houses (*formerly* their *castles*) subjected to be plundered and rifled, their papers, the most *secret* of them, to be ransacked and seized, and their families imprisoned, without *provocation*, without *guilt*, nay even where their *innocence* should be *known*.

The cry of peace will not lead to peace, especially when attended by “ Engrossing (as “ is now the case) the votes of freeholders “ by bribery, by every artful and undue influence, and by chusing the representatives “ of a whole county, by a handful of interested men,” acting under the banner of a persecuting, ambitious, and revengeful favorite: opposition, I repeat it again, is now become the only path that leads to peace.

Having done with our author’s flimsy argument of peace, the thin disguise of which is easily seen thro’, we come now to his description of *what sort* of representatives opposition *in his opinion*, may be made to with propriety and reason.

And

And these are, Page 5.

1. " Members, negligent of the trust committed to them :
2. " Members incapable of discharging it :
3. " Mercenary dependents on a corrupt ministry :

And lastly,
and here breaks out the *old leaven*, the center of *political gravity* that binds together and attracts all and every of these anti-revolutional existencies,

" Members, who *unite* themselves to a turbulent and *democratic* faction, dangerously combined to oppose the *executive* power, to *clog* the wheels of government, and shake the pillars of the public safety ; "

I will ask the cool and dispassionate reader what ideas he can assemble together on reading this passage, that will not lead him to form in his mind the old exploded doctrines of *jus divinum*, passive obedience, and non resistance ? this is a revival of those execrable positions with a vengeance !

The author will not, dare not presume to affirm, that the late parliamentary contests were other than the warm struggles for assaulted liberty, and the vigorous efforts made to *prop*, and not to *shake*, the pillars of the public safety :

ty: they were the bold and glorious attempts of publick spirited representatives to secure the liberties and rights of the people when *invaded*: they were made to *withstand oppression*, and to resist illegal and *arbitrary* measures of administration, and not to *clog the wheels* of government. Those patriots were not members dangerously combined to oppose the *executive* power, but they were men of unquestioned loyalty and affection to their sovereign; they were men of unimpeached integrity and honor, engaged in one common cause, the cause of virtue, and of liberty, and associated together to curb the insolence of a tyrannical North British favourite; of one who was pursuing the same obnoxious measures, which rendered the four last years of queen Anne so justly despicable, and the acts of her ministers so justly formidable to all real lovers of their country, and to the friends to the protestant succession, in the illustrious house of HANOVER. They were opposing *Cocoa-Tree-Counsellors*, the daring advocates of prerogative and power, the *new adopted* progeny of statesmen sprung from the scions of the *good old True Blue* stock; and who in all reigns are found to act uniformly and the same, on desperate principles, totally incompatible with the security and freedom of this country, and which experience in all ages

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have

have shewn: who were driving *Jehu-like* as soon as mounted, as they have ever done when once admitted to the reins, and who if not timely stopped by men of honor and virtue, might probably have brought irreparable destruction upon the community. The faithful friends of the people checked the fury of these impetuous *charioteers*, and did most assuredly *clog* their carriage wheels; but they preserved the machine of government unhurt, they supported the necessities, and supplied the wants and exigencies of the state, at the same time they restrained and kept within due bounds the *harpy* fangs of a hungry, all-devouring administration; headed by an insolent, imperious, all-grasping favourite.

And now let us see which of our county members we can discover upon this honourable roll of patriots; (for they were truly so, however out of vogue that title is at present;) was Sir A***** one? No, his name appears not: the ever glorious T*****d our author's military and civil paragon? No, he is not there. What? not the rise and origin, the *clipper* and *coiner* of the national *militia*, that bulwark for the defence of the nation, and the liberties of the people? No, he is not found in that respectable list. But the name of Sir A***** may possibly be discovered on the roll at the
Cocoa

whipper-in, lagging behind, in vain endeavours to keep his *straggling pack* of ideas together : alas ! too often at an irretrievable *default*.

Now, having drawn a little sketch of our representative Sir A*****, the reader must judge whether he does, or does not, come under the description of those members, whom according to our author,

“ It becomes the duty of every honest man
“ to exert himself with vigor in opposing,” and
whom he styles “ *unworthy members*.”

If he does come under that description, why then the gentlemen who oppose him, “ do not
“ sacrifice the public peace to a private resentment, or a wanton popularity, or a vain
“ ambition,” and these words are merely expletives, and have no meaning, but in the confused brain of our bigotted and disingenuous disputant.

Page 6. The author next proceeds to the contested election in 1734, which he wilfully and totally misrepresents ; it was not a contest against *pensioners* and *placemen*, it was a contest between Men of *revolution principles*, and *professed Tories*, to say no worse of many of them ; a contest supported principally by those, who principally supported the act of *settlement* and the protestant succession, in opposition to men of families and connections who would
have

have defeated it, and who were men of known arbitrary principles. The author acknowledges that the design was “to pull down” the minister of that time: a very meritorious cause of opposition truly; to pull down the greatest minister this age has produced, and who is at this time universally acknowledged to be so. To pull down the man who was one of the main instruments in placing the present royal family upon the throne of these kingdoms? But alas! the memory of that time is wearing out apace; where are the *Portland's*, *Devonshires*, and *Pelham's* now to be discovered?

When impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station.

Did the minister to be pulled down in 1734, cause or suffer representatives of the people to be *seized* in their own houses, in time of peace and quiet? Did he conclude a disadvantageous and *****s peace, after a GLORIOUS war, and a series of amazing conquests carried on with uninterrupted success, in every part of the globe, and beyond the example of former ages? No; but he IMPEACHED the vile contrivers, the scandalous negotiators of a dishonorable peace, and forced them to fly their country: had they remained to have received

ceived the punishment due to their treasons in sacrificing the glory of the nation, 'tis more than probable it would have made some others since more cautious*.

With what a wretched grace does this abusive penman introduce the article of PENSIONS? Did Sir ROBERT WALPOLE encrease the civil list by numerous and unprecedented officers? Did he advance the lords in waiting upon the person of majesty from twelve to twenty? Did he turn in and turn out the

* Address of the Electors, after the new Parliament was chose.

The electors in several counties and cities, drew up instructions for their representatives; those of the city of LONDON had this passage :

“ We desire, and expect, that you will inquire by *whose counsel* it was, that after God had blessed the arms of her late majesty, and her allies, *with a train* of unparalleled successes, she was prevailed upon, contrary to the *grand alliance*, and her repeated promises from the throne to both houses, to *send* to, or *receive* managers from *France*, to treat *separately* of a *peace*, without the knowledge or consent of *our allies*.”

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE's report, as Chairman of the Secret Committee, upon which the articles of IMPEACHMENT against the Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbroke, and other Ministers, who had made the peace of Utrecht, were grounded, recites amongst others :

- Article 5. The fatal *suspension* of arms.
8. The Lord Bolingbroke's *journey* to *France*, to negotiate a separate peace.
9. Mr. Prior's, and the Duke of Shrewsbury's negotiations in *France*.
10. The *precipitate* conclusion of the peace at Utrecht,

the highest officers of state, upon caprice and whim, or from apprehensions of their being too popular and too steadily attached to the true interest of the kingdom? thereby putting a stop to all public business of every kind and in every department*? But Sir ROBERT WALPOLE wants no advocate to defend his conduct from the venomous shafts and impotent malice of this malignant and virulent defamer.

Let me present, by way of contrast, to the distinguishing reader the following manœuvres of another minister, and let impartiality determine, whether there is not a minister at this time to pull down, whose over-ruling influence behind the curtain has involved this unhappy country in more distractions, and more parties than were ever heard of in the æra he describes; yet has he the confidence to declare, “ we have now *no Party*, not even the *name* “ of a party, no *minister* to raise up or pull “ down; we have no court influence to hope “ or to fear, nor any end in view but the “ mischievous pleasure of doing and undoing;” of that indeed every year, almost every month produces

* And this at a time when our enemies are straining every nerve to repair the losses of the late war: forty-six capital ships have been built in the ports of France alone, since the conclusion of the peace of Paris.

produces but too many flagrant and melancholy instances.

List of changes in the present reign, which will best mark the disposition and true character of the present premier behind the curtain.

“ London, April, 1766.

“ According to the list of changes just published, it appears, that during the present reign, there has been no less than ;

- 2 Lord Chancellors.
- 4 Lord Presidents.
- 5 Lord Keepers of the Privy Seal, and once the Seal in Commission.
- 5 First Lords of the Treasury.
- 13 Other Lords of the Treasury.
- 6 Chancellors of the Exchequer.
- 5 Lord Chamberlains.
- 2 Vice Chamberlains.
- 3 Grooms of the Stole.
- 31 Different Lords of the Bed Chamber.
- 22 Different Grooms of the Bed Chamber.
- 4 Keepers of the Great Wardrobe.
- 4 Groom Porters.
- 2 Lord Stewards.
- 5 Comptrollers.
- 5 Treasurers.
- 5 Cofferers.

12 Different

- 12 Different Clerks of the Broad of Green Cloth.
- 3 Treasurers of the Chamber.
- 5 Masters of the Horse.
- 11 Secretaries of State.
- 7 First Lords of the Admiralty.
- 23 Different Lords of the Admiralty.
- 8 First Lords of Trade.
- 18 Different Lords of Trade.
- 9 Post Masters.
- 4 Paymasters.
- 3 Treasurers of the Navy.
- 3 Secretaries at War.
- 5 Keepers of Privy Seal of Scotland.
- 8 Vice Treasurers of Ireland.

Since the above date, 1766, how many additions could be made to the preceding list?
 " Yet we have no minister to raise up or pull
 " down, no party, nor even the NAME of
 " a party amongst us." Matchless effrontery!
 " *but I feel an asperity rising upon me which*
 " *shall not be indulged.*"

Now for the "*ignis fatuus* of the *Bath-metal*
 "*star*, which we are dancing after, hands
 " across. Page 6." Bath-metal star! this must
 be *Attick salt*, for most assuredly, *it is not*
English.

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Sir

Sir WILLIAM HARBORD is a gentleman perhaps as much esteemed, and as deservedly as any other in this county; his private virtues and his publick principles are such, as must for ever recommend him to the consideration of men of probity and character. No person, however improved by education or experience, has reason to blush when following his example; he is a guide to lead us to the path of honour, and to the TEMPLE of LIBERTY, but he is no *ignis fatuus* to draw us into the dirt; if he had, our author had never left him till he had been up to the ears in it; for floundering in the dirt appears to be his darling passion.

The next portrait, in his room of *exhibition*, is the great and formidable peer of R*****. He says, Page 6. "no sooner was he appointed to Ireland, but his character was attacked, with all the malice of the most potent and illiberal calumny, intending, no doubt to reach thro' his lordship, and to blast the fair character of, Mr. De Grey. "This is fine reasoning indeed; for how can a personal satire upon lord T***** affect the character of Mr. De Grey? if it be applicable to the one, (and they are very different men both in situation and disposition, as, I believe, no body will deny) how can it be applicable to the other?

other? besides, if I recollect aright, those papers were in print, and my lord (Aug. 12.) declared a vice-roy, before ever any opposition to Mr. De Grey was thought of. So much for the latter part of his assertion, and as to the former, I believe there were full as many extraordinary articles printed, to celebrate the transcendent qualities of the noble lord, as to ridicule them. I will treat the gentleman with one or two of them, and which he may possibly remember to have read.

“ The appointment of lord Townshend, elder brother of the right honourable Charles Townshend, to the important post of lord lieutenant of Ireland, is not a temporary nomination ; and it is thought to be a circumstance that will prove highly agreeable to the *Irisb* in general, his lordship having evinced himself, on several occasions, to be an able statesman, a good soldier, a conquictive orator, an excellent patriot, and (of all the most valuable) an honest man.”

London, August, 16, 1767.

“ Lord Townshend deserves to have his name inscribed in adamantine letters, on a column of eternal fame.”

“ Lord Townshend is an honor to human nature.”

Public Advertiser in August, 1767.

Such were the public testimonies of his virtues, on his appointment to the government of Ireland*. But still our author is not satisfied: “ If, says he, his many illustrious virtues, both public and private, if his faithful and important services to his country, both at home and abroad, will not raise him superior to these attacks, we must e’en give him up, lamenting over him, however, with this oration of the Roman,

“ O! mighty Cæsar, dost thou lie so low?
“ Are all thy conquests, glories, trophies, spoils,
“ Shrunk to this little measure? fare thee
“ well.”

Forgive

* Extract of a Letter from Dublin.

“ Having seen in your English news-papers a variety of panegyrics on our new Lord Lieutenant,” &c.

“ I hope Lord Townshend will prove a fit Governor; yet notwithstanding I cannot think any of those, sincere friends to his Lordship, who have lavished such extravagant praises on him in the news-papers, and who thereby raise the publick expectation. I think the people of Ireland should be taught, by experience, to look for mischief, and guard against it.

Political Register.

Forgive me, genius of Panegyrick, if I should add my exclamation too!

O! mighty Cæsar dost thou lie so low?
Are all thy conquests, glories, trophies, spoils,
Shrunk to this —le comparifon!

But I shall difmifs the confideration of the “*conquests, and glories, and trophies*” of this renowned p*** and general, as the recital of them occurs again in the Re-echo from *Ireland* page 9.

The PUBLIC SLAVE, whom this *victorious* leader carries in the chariot with him, a circumftance which the author introduces to fhew his reading, is very properly introduced as a companion to the triumphant p***; he has ever been *fond of slaves*, and is to this very hour; nay fo fond of them, that I don’t know whether he would not do his beft to make the *whole kingdom* fo; but I will not venture to affert it.

The public flave! aye! that epithet feems to mean *somebody*, and yet if I guefs aright, it is one that has very little of a *flave* about him; I am bold to fay, he is one, to whole face this very familiar writer dares not avow the appellation. If the author had faid a *flave* of the *publick*, the title perhaps had been
more

more applicable, and would have been considered as a title of honor, by the gentleman alluded to, who has occasionally served the public, at least, if exposing his life in action with the enemies of his country, be allowed to be a public service.

Leaving him and the peer, rolling and railing together, in the same imaginary car of triumph (for the car of triumph is certainly *imaginary*) we are now conducted to St. Andrew's hall, Page 7. and 8. where the author, very prudently, passes over in silence the frothy and unsubstantial harangue of Mr. De G***, the vindication of General Warrants, and the comparison introduced between them and the royal proclamation for prohibiting the exportation of corn, and again attacks the very respectable character of Sir William Harbord with his former virulence.

Many remarks upon the speech of Mr. De G*** and far from being to the honor of the speaker, were made at the time of it's delivery, and perhaps it may with truth be asserted, that some of his best friends were much disgusted at it; many hung down their heads, when they heard the son and heir to that staunch old whig, whom, his country singled out, as the ablest defender of it's liberties

ties, in time of peril†, vindicating unconstitutional, and arbitrary measures of government, and that with a forward zeal, and, as it were, stepping out of his road to do it; as if he *prided* himself in being the *voluntary* champion of proceedings, so obnoxious to the people, so dangerous to the community.

Mr. NO GHOST, the Norwich citizen, not our author, tho, he says *He is No Ghost* distinguishes between the two acts of authority, cited by Mr. De G***, and defines the one to be,

“ An extension of the royal prerogative at
“ the united request of the whole kingdom ;”
the other,

“ A wanton act of power of an arbitrary
“ and over-bearing minister.”

And this distinction has hitherto remained uncontroverted.

But in what an unpleasing light must a candidate appear, who, in the face of the county he is soliciting to have the honor to represent in parliament, draws these forced and unnatural comparisons? does he not adopt the measures he vindicates? does he not make the doctrines of power his own? arbitrary power and ministerial vengeance. No good man,
and

† Anno 1715.

and true friend to the liberties of his constituents, would turn the advocate of *tyranny* and *oppression*.

But let us hear the sentiments of the celebrated author of "The letter concerning General Warrants, &c." touching this point; a work which no friend to liberty should be without.

Speaking of irregularities in transactions of government, where the extremity of the case induces men to wink at them, and not to call proceedings of that kind in question, he observes as follows;

" And yet BAD MEN, as one may easily figure to one's self, will be apt to lay a stress upon such acts of necessity, as precedents for their doing the LIKE in ordinary cases, and to gratify personal pique; and therefore such excesses of power are dangerous in example, and should never be excused, but when it appears that government could not be defended, or upheld without actual recourse to them."

Was not, what this learned author figures only to himself in *imagination*, exemplified strongly by the conduct of Mr. De G*** at the hall? did he not lay a stress upon an act of necessity? for such it was: were not the poor throughout the kingdom starving, and famine approaching in hasty strides upon the land? could government be upheld when the people were

were reduced to misery, and almost expiring for want of bread? and, is this necessary extension of the royal authority to be compared to a wanton, ministerial warrant, for seizing the person and papers of a *representative* of the people for a supposed libel? "He that touches the parliament, says Sir " *John Thompson*, as quoted by the above " author, touches the *vital part* of the nation." Yet, a parallel between these two respective acts of power, was not only asserted, but *enforced* by Mr. De G*** in the face of the whole county. The opinion the above great lawyer entertains of such persons is sufficiently explicit; however, I shall only remark, that if his opinion be justly founded, our partial letter-writer may lower his standard and expunge his motto; or apply the *detur digniori*, with more propriety, to either of the new candidates, and let the public voice decide their claim to it.

That Mr. De G*** was *hastily* nominated, and elected on the death of lord Townshend by a *Junto* of men, and mostly by *militia-officers*, and the county, as it were, *jockey'd* out of their *free* choice, is a manifest truth, known to every body; and which was as manifestly confirmed, by their slender attendance on the member, upon the day of his return. There is

no occasion for the soft term of *insinuation*, it being a fact so well authenticated. Mr. De G*** was not elected by the *united voice* of the county, as the author boldly and roundly asserts, for the county in general knew very little about the matter; and it would have been more agreeable to *truth*, as well as modesty, to have said, that Mr. De G*** was elected *without a contest*; no one, upon the declining of Sir EDWARD ASTLEY, being *prepared* to oppose him: but it was then publicly said every where, that he would not come in so easily another time, when there was opportunity for consulting the sentiments of the *body* of the *freeholders*.

This being the case, and let our author contradict it if he can, I see no impropriety in that part of the speech of Sir W. HARBORD.

But now we come to his militia objection: the author, with an affected vein of pleasantry, ridicules Sir *William*, as forgetting the old *military Morden*; and “being apprehensive, that
 “*militia Colonels* were dangerous as they wear
 “*swords*, and therefore not to be entrusted
 “with a share of *civil* government.” I do believe, from my heart, that this accusation is unjust, for I cannot think Sir *William* was ever of opinion that the *swords* of the militia were
 in

in the least *dangerous*, or, that their officers were at all formidable to society in general: for my own part, I believe they are gentlemen as much inclined to *peace* as we could wish them, nor do I think they will ever attempt to overturn any established government whatever. They are no such *desperate men*; tho', it must be acknowledged, they repelled the violent assaults of the Hampshire ox with an amazing intrepidity. Our author must therefore misunderstand Sir William, as his voice was not extremely distinct, or loud, not being in health; and the address from Ireland to the lord lieutenant, on that head, makes nothing for him, exclusive of it's being *Irish evidence*. We all know, compliments to a new lord lieutenant are usual, as an expedient, perhaps, to put him in good humor; and we have, before now, seen addresses from the H. of C. of Ireland, thanking his majesty, for sending over a second time a vice-roy, whom they had opposed the preceding session with the utmost violence, and whom they were as resolutely determined to oppose, in that which was to follow:* but as to this part of their address, I shall only quote, by way of final answer, an epigram, that made its appearance at Dublin upon their famous address upon the late -----s
peace

* Sessions in 1751, 1753.

peace of *Paris*, which was voted honorable and advantageous.*

Quoth *Teague* to *Paddy*, in a tone outrageous,
 “ The devil burn their houses, *advantageous!*
Paddy more cool, “ they know in *England*,
 brother;
 “ We *Irish*, *spake* one thing, and *mane* another.”

Our author has been pleased to omit the most material and important part of Sir William's speech, which was this; he said, “ the
 “ honourable gentlemen seem to plume
 “ themselves upon their services in parlia-
 “ ment, but he must be so free as to tell
 “ them, he was one, of many others, who
 “ were not so perfectly satisfied with their
 “ services.” Our author has drop'd and sunk this part of his speech upon us.

And now for the illustrious conqueror of the
 North,

* In the Speech from the T——ne, delivered at the Opening of that Session, the Senate was informed of the late Peace having been concluded. This was a Matter that we had nothing to do with. We are never consulted, about Peace or War, nor, are ever any Preliminaries, or definitive treaties, laid before us. Therefore, as they could not fairly frame any judgment about the Matter, the Senate took no Notice of that part of the Speech, in the Address they returned to it. However, toward the Close of that Session, some Court *Manœuvres* were performed, in Concert with *Rufin*, and to the Surprize and Scandal of all *Barataria*, a particular, unprecedented, and servile Address, in Compliment to the Peace, was moved for, and carried, against a strong, and spirited Opposition.

Public Register published at Dublin, Jan. 29, 1768.

North, whose portrait is hung round with *trophies, spoils and glories*, and varnished over with such resplendent colours, such a brilliant lustre of accumulated rays, that it dazzles the eyes of the beholder; and the main figure is lost, and scarce discernable, in the glare surrounding it.

This hero of renown, being on his travels in the year 1743, and at no great distance from the army, visited the camp, and being acquainted with the earl of D*****, colonel of a regiment of guards, and a lieutenant general, obtained his permission to stay a little with the troops; an opportunity very desirable to all young travellers, a numerous army, encamped, being a noble and striking spectacle; the constant scene of action, the hurry and bustle, the hourly alarms and events, the perpetual flourish of trumpets, roar of cannon, and distant roll of drums,

‘Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war,’ are exceedingly transporting and delightful to a raw and unexperienced mind, which takes not into its view, the toils, fatigues, and dangers that attend this captivating shew, and treacherous parade.

The battle of *Dettingen*, which was totally unexpected, falling out during his stay in camp, he was present at it with the lord D****

Now

Now we all know, very well, the little part the guards had in the action of that day: this is not mentioned by way of reflection on that brave body of men, but it is well known they were not engaged; so that very little honor can possibly be derived to him, from his attendance in the field on that occasion, which may with more propriety be termed an *escape* than a VICTORY.

However, a handle was made of this insignificant *trip* to a camp, and, tho' it was a *voluntary* transaction of his own, arising from a motive of *curiosity*, it was diligently trumpeted about, that such a life was *too important* to be exposed to the fury of undistinguishing cannon, with a wicked and malicious insinuation, that he was sent abroad to be knocked of the head, in order to make way for his younger brother C*****, the greater favourite of the father: his l***** best knows what *countenance* he gave to these reports, or whether, or not, he confirmed them in his letters from *abroad*, expressing any jealousy at the same time, or resentment against that brother. Soon after he left the army and went to France.

The late duke of Cumberland was the first who gave him a commission, and that in the year 1745; his royal highness also made him one of his aid de camps. How very *grateful* he

he was, and how he rewarded his royal benefactor, let his celebrated *caricaturas* speak for him. The duke promoted him to a company in the guards, and he *still* remained in his family.

His ******* was never in action, in his whole life, as a *battalion*-officer, never fought in any one corps of men whatever; but was promoted to the rank of a general officer, through the interest of Mr. PITT, without being *once* at the head of any regiment employed *on service*, or even *doing duty* in one: he never was in fact, more than a *captain* in the guards, nor did he ever do any duty in *that* corps, 'till *after the peace* of 1748: and then he found it so *very fatiguing* to him, and so difficult to attend in town, mount guard in his turn, be present on *field days*, in a word, in complying with *general orders*, that he soon after *resigned* his commission: on which occasion, it is said, his royal highness thus expressed himself to him; "Sir! you have *my leave* "to resign *to-day*, and you shall have the k***'s "to-morrow."

His natural uncertainty of temper pursued him into the country; soon sick of rural amusements, and at a loss to *while away* the lingring hours, his fertile brain at length conceived the idea of a *standing militia*; no man
was

was ever more fond of the parade and shew of *military* exhibitions; and, in this department, he may truly say, *Militavi non sine gloria*. I have been told, that he *actually* marched on *foot*, from Gloucester to London, at the head of the N^rf^k militia; and that at a time too, when he ran the risque of a censure, for not remaining at Q**** with the *regulars*. To these honors, to these ever-blooming laurels, I bow with all respect and admiration.

His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere.____

Thus we are got to the noble l***'s first secession from the army, and now we are to take him up in the *militia*, and send him back to the army and regulars again. He secedes a *discontented*

Captain, (that is, with the rank of lieutenant *colonel*, as being in the guards) at the end of the peace; and in the *middle* of the succeeding war, anno 1759, having acquired some little interest with the minister, who was a slave to popularity, (and whom he has since abandoned and insulted, as he did his royal master formerly) through the step-ladder of the militia, *mounted* upon this stalking-horse, he solicits, with importunity, to be restored to his rank in the service he had quitted; not to
the

the rank he was in was in when he left it, which to grant, had been no *inconsiderable* favor in a sovereign; but to the rank those officers were in, whose commissions as lieutenant *colonels* bore date with *his own*, and who by continuing on in the service, had rose to a command; and thus he issues forth at once a brigadier general of the forces, endued with all the experience, and all the warlike accomplishments of a country fox hunter.

It is said when this unprecedented promotion was granted, at the importunity and repeated application of the minister, his late m— was heard to say, “That if he must have rank, “he should go *abroad* and *serve* for it,” and so ordered him to Q***** under the direction of the gallant and intrepid WOLFE, the greatest general perhaps, this, or any other age, has ever produced.

We are now come, I take it, to the æra in which the military prowess of our Norfolk sportsman is most extolled, and when (if at any time) he may be said to be in the zenith of his glory, and *meridian* of *splendor*. To his transactions, and *wonderful* operations and exploits at Q*****, this passage of applause, from the *Irish address*, must evidently allude:

F

“When

“ When we reflect on the *important* ser-
 “ vices and *great military experience* of your
 “ E—— for many years in different parts
 “ of the globe, and on your happy success in
 “ *raising the fame*, and *extending the dominions*
 “ of Great Britain; when we now see the
 “ sword of *justice* entrusted to the same per-
 “ son, who has *constantly* used the sword of
 “ *war*, for the *honor* of his sovereign, and the
 “ *glory* of his country, we must *look up* to your
 “ E—— with the highest expectation and
 “ confidence.*”

I am now to enter upon his conduct during
 that important siege, and if that does not
 furnish out materials sufficient to support this
Irish edifice of honor, I own I am at a loss
 to find them any where else; for *Portugal*
 and *Germany* were soils too barren to produce
him laurels.

If then it should appear from the united
 testimony of most officers employed on that
 glorious expedition, that the *new* general, the
 k*nn*ll *brigadier*, was very seldom entrusted
 with any command; was very little consulted
 upon any operations; had no share in the
 confidence or good opinion of that able judge
 of military merit, the commander in chief;
 that he was perpetually *ridiculing* the tran-
 sactions of the army, and setting the gene-
 ral

* See the character of Sancho, in the letter from the island of
 Barataria.

ral officers together by the ears, sowing discord and jealousies amongst them; if these accusations and reports be true, then surely the *glories*, and *trophies*, and *spoils*, and *conquests* of this mighty CÆSAR, are no where to be found, unless in the visionary regions of Utopia; not in the inhospitable wilds and precipices of America.

Now if any person will give himself the trouble to read that inimitable letter of Mr. WOLFE's from before Quebec, and the several uncontroverted accounts of that expedition, he will find, and candidly own, that the chief officers employed upon any operation of consequence, were brigadier *Murray*, the colonels *Carleton*, and *Howe*; all of them *subordinate* in rank, to our *Tallio* commander; while general *Monckton* conducted the siege and batteries, playing from *Point Levi* upon the town.

By the untimely fall of Mr. Wolfe, we are deprived of an opportunity of *thoroughly* knowing all the particulars of the curious conduct of this *man* of *applause*, which, it was confidently said, would have been *laid before the public* had he lived. However, that he was most lightly thought of, that every day produced some *extravaganza* or eccentricity of behaviour, is notorious: that brigadier M—
and

and he were upon such terms as to live like dog and bear, publicly quarrelling in camp; that his unhappy temper led him into disputes with persons of very inferior rank, and this even on board the admiral's own ship, the *Neptune*, where he *challenged* the pilot, are things so commonly advanced by the gentlemen on that service, as scarcely to bear a contradiction, or to admit a doubt.

The only operation of consequence that he was destined to from his rank, and which ended without *coming to action*, was the march from *Montmorency* camp cross the ford, at the intended attack of the trenches, on the thirty first day of July. Mr. *Wolfe* had determined to attempt a landing, and, if possible, to bring to a general action, the army commanded by M. *Montcalm* (tho' deeply entrenched, and secured by a long chain of redoubts and batteries;) for this purpose, the whole of his troops was ordered out, and brigadier *Monckton* from Point *Levi*, and the two brigadiers from *Montmorency* were to join him, at a certain time of the tide upon the northern shore; but the impetuosity of the grenadiers upon landing, who rushed on without forming, or waiting to be sustained, is well known to have defeated the proposed assault, and the *Montmorency*-generals retired back to their camp, without the firing of a musquet.

In this camp indeed our brigadier was usually very alert, for if a solitary savage did but pop his head out of a bush, *smack* says the general, with a cannon ball at his nose directly: this was represented to the commander in chief, as an *idle waste* of ammunition; (for our brigadier had not then been *lieutenant general* of the ordnance) and of no detriment or disservice to the enemy, against whom, except in parties, great shot are rarely fired. Mr. *Wolfe*, on these occasions, was heard to reply, 'Let him alone, let him *divert* and *amuse* himself, it is of no great consequence.' Mr. *Wolfe* was accustomed frequently to reconnoitre the shores and town, in a boat by himself, but our intrepid hero did not chuse to hazard his important person, without a guard of a serjeant and twelve men; and when at the admiral's table it has been asked, if any body knew where the general was? our brigadier's reply was instantly, "*Reconnoitring, reconnoitring*: by and bye we shall have some *Don Quixote* assault, some *mad* attack upon a *windmill*, or words to that effect;" and I believe our puissant conqueror of the *North* will hardly venture to controvert this account.

These *unsoldier-like* reflections, (and for which indeed he was liable to the censure of a court martial, for speaking of the commander

er

er in chief, with disrespect, had he thought it worth his while to call a man whom he thoroughly despised, before one;) and his frequent imputations of *madness* to Mr. *Wolfe* were reported to the late k--g, upon which his m----y, it is said, pleasantly retorted, “ If — “ WOLFE be *mad*, I wish he would bite “ *some other* of my *Generals*.”

The action on the plains of *Abraham*, and the surrender of the town in consequence, conclude the history of his exploits at Q——; and these we have his *own* account of, according to which it plainly appears, that he had no sort of merit in either landing the forces, drawing them up when landed, posting the troops, or winning the battle; but he had the great merit of stopping the victorious army in it's pursuit, and preventing the grenadiers and highlanders from storming the town, sword in hand.

He then fell to *redoubting his camp* (*after a victory*); the enemy offers to surrender, he agrees to the capitulation *without consulting* the commander in chief; writes a pompous letter to the secretary of state; leaves the troops in garrison, and returns home to *England* to reap the laurels due to the immortal memory of Mr. WOLFE.

moveat

—— moveat cornicula risum
Furtivis nudata coloribus ——

And now having given a little sketch of the *wonderful* exploits, and coups d'*Eclat* perform'd by the intrepid colonel of the N—— squadrons, and which I trust is not at all exaggerated, let us congratulate his *modest* historian, on the lustre of his actions, which “ *beams a* “ *glory* over him, like that upon the *oaks* at “ *Kymberly*, and *sanctifies* the *shades*.”

O! mighty Cæsar, dost thou lie so low?
Are all thy conquests, glories, trophies, spoils,
Shrunk to this little compass! fare thee well.

And fare *thee* well, thou base and servile
flatterer!

We now come to a laboured panegyric upon Sir A***** W*****, whom our painter daubs and plaisters over in the same fulsome, and nauseous manner, as the Q—— general; with as much propriety, and with equal truth.

“ Honor has been hereditary in that family
“ for seven hundred years, and till the noble
“ inheritance be squandered and bartered away, a Wodehouse can never solicit the
“ honors of his country in vain? Page 9.

Quid

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

Allowing Sir A***** to be of a good family, and sprung from honorable ancestors, does this entitle him to a *perpetual representation* of the county of N——? by no means; *his services*, not his *progenitors*, must recommend him to that honor:

Non genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voco ———

The great lord Townshend, in the reign of George the first, of glorious memory; acquired honors to himself and family, by supporting *revolution* principles, and by inflexibly adhering to the old *whig* interest: but the grandson, being wiser and more experienced, abandons those *queer* principles, and that old fashioned interest, and chooses his own ground to stand upon. He values himself on no example of his ancestors? why therefore should Sir A*****?

— By the same rule, animate but one of the venerable old oaks at Kymberly, and why not choose it representative for N——? It has stood with honor there for centuries perhaps, look'd green, and flourished to the eye; as yet knows no decay, and as yet has not *degenerated* by an unnatural transplantation amidst the *Scotch Firs* at R*****m.

He

He ought to be held up as a man "Grown
 "old in *their* service;" there is just as much
 truth in this, as that another person alluded to
 a few pages further on is "Grown hoary in
 "the *arts of defamation*," who lost the *colour*
 of his *hair* by serving his country in the
 West Indies.

What are the services of Sir A***** that
 CROWN him with the honorable distinction
 of a veteran in the duties of his country?
 enumerate a few, good parasite. Thirty years
 attendance in parliament, thirty years unwea-
 ried attention to the important trust reposed in
 him, must swell his catalogue of public vir-
 tues, and gild his escutcheon of pretence? how
 many turnpikes has he forwarded? how many
 commons has he split? how many florid
 speeches has he made in the defence of liberty
 and his country? how many votes has he
 given in the house, seperate and detached
 from Cocoa tree connections, and the known
 friends of the *good old cause*? how many con-
 stitutional motions has he made against arbi-
 trary power, in conjunction with his *tory* squa-
 dron? how violently did he oppose the late
 most —'s peace? how often was he at St.
 James's before the earl of B***'s accession
 to power? how many individuals of this great
 G country

county has he recommended or promoted? but I will ask no more.

Where is the vast merit of being *unplaced*, un pensioned, un-ennobled? a place is no dishonor, if it brings not with it a *blind compliance* with ministerial directions, and a support of measures inconsistent with the public safety; on the contrary it makes a representative more useful to his constituents? but what if a man devotes himself to an arbitrary and designing minister, whose measures are visibly incompatible with the freedom of the subject, and does this from *party* only? is he less blameable, or is he less dangerous? or less deserving to be *rejected* on a *new* election? where is the difference to the constituents whether their member be *paid* for supporting such obnoxious principles, or *influenced* by a prevailing faction? and lastly, what if these principles should be *his own*?

And is such a man to be supported by the illustrious blood of C*v*****h! what can an honest whig conceive of that amazing inconsistency of conduct, which can influence the husband of a lady, who derives her origin from the firm patriots of 1688, to stoop, so miserably low, as to *hoop* and *hallow* and run about the streets of a country town like a mad man, with his hat off, exciting a shout from

from an intoxicated mob, in favor of the Anti-W*lp*l**n house of K*mb*rl*y? what could so seduce, so unaccountably delude a daughter of the good old steady revolutioner of Gh*tsw*rth to forego her principles, fly off from her honorable connections, revolt to an inveterate enemy, and embrace the exploded tenets and party of a non-resisting tory? what mean passion or pitiful motive of self interest, could tempt the high spirited sister of the warm and zealous duke, this country so universally deplored, to cringe and truckle to a Sc**** dependant? to fall down and worship this N___ B___h idol? to bring her husband's powers to raise up that very engine of arbitrary authority, which her noble minded brother, like a true born virtuous Englishman, laboured to the last hour of his life to pull down? a C_____sh to unfurl the tory standard, and wave it o'er her head! I say, a tory standard, in defiance of the despicable, tho' artful assertions of Sir A_____, who roundly declares as his opinion (that is, the opinion of his S___ friends) " That the man who mentions the distinction of *whig* and *tory* in these times, is a R_____ or a Fool." I well remember there were people in 1745, who denied there was a rebel in the three kingdoms, at the same time the son of the late pre-

G 2

tender

tender had proclaimed his father with open arms in Scotland; when this truth became too flagrant by the bold advances of the highlanders, then the harsh found of *rebels* was soften'd down into the tender title of *insurgents*; *Scotch rebels* was too invidious a term.

This *sineffe*, Sir A——, will not do; we are not to be so deceived, tho' you may be a little ashamed to shew your true colours: whigs and tories still remain, Sir; and thanks to heaven! there are numbers of the former still untainted, still *un-torified*, still *un-IMBUTED* with apostate principles, and still inflexibly attached to the religion, the laws, the **LIBERTIES** of their country.

In regard to *pensions* and *peerages*, if acquired by long services, they are no subjects of reproach. Lord *Chatham* has done signal services to his country, lord *Chatham* is a *peer* and a *pensioner*; and there is one great name, an honor to this county, who had his pension and his perquisite too; to whom posterity will do justice hereafter, for his many public virtues, for his inflexible attachment to revolution principles, his steady support of the protestant succession, in the illustrious house of *Hanover*; his coolness of temper and moderation in times of party discord, and his
unshaken

unshaken intrepidity in times of peril. This great man, and true friend to his country was,

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE:
let no man blush to name him!

Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.

As to Mr. *Styleman's* motion, the propriety of it will be best seen on the day of election ; and therefore, as depending upon an uncertain event, we will pass it over at present. Page 10.

Mr. *Styleman* is a man of known honor, and unbiaſſed integrity, and not to be warped from his purpose by the false lure of *right honorable* promises ; happy had it been for Sir A—— that he had possessed the same firmness of mind with his relation : but *evil communication*, it is said, *corrupts good manners*, and it was impossible for the *knight* to be so long in *training* amidst the *weathercocks* at R—— without acquiring a portion of that *unsteadiness* and *insincerity*, for which the family has been so long, and so particularly distinguished.

What an insolent reflection is brought in, head and shoulders, upon doctor *Moore*, with an impertinent insinuation to the disadvantage of
of

of Mr Coke? Page 11. Dr. Moore is a gentleman of a very respectable character, and of a very respectable interest? he is master of possessions and an estate, that has produced candidates for this county, and is therefore most justly entitled to *recommend* a candidate; any gentleman he had an opinion of, and to whom he intended giving that interest: I should imagine his being of a noble family in Ireland, in "*defiance of Solomon*" can be no objection; the ancestors of Mr. De G—— might probably be *Normans*, yet I know no bar in that to his *application* as one candidate, any more than the reverend doctor's extraction from Ireland, can be urged as a bar against his recommendation of another? where is the *novelty*?

But to make amends for his *impertinent* insinuation against Mr. Coke, he soon after allows him to be "a gentleman honorable in himself, honorable in his connections, high in the esteem of his own country, happy in the love* of his neighbours, and deserved-
" ly

* It may not be improper to observe to the reader upon this passage, that several emissaries have been detached, at different times, into *Derbyshire*, to enquire the character of Mr. Coke, and to pick up materials for slander; but returned home without a cargo. This disappointment has tended to mortify, not a little, Sir A——'s militia-*bowman*, and his drunken ally and amanuensis, since they were render'd incapable of drawing up any articles of impeachment against Mr. Coke in this publication, either of themselves, or thro' the generous assistance of their fair confederates at K——.

“ly the object of our respect;” Page 11. now I will not be so ill-natured as to apply his own words to him: “here *one ray* of truth “broke half thro’ the *solid darkness* of his “soul,” Page 16. for I will readily acknowledge that the whole of the above passage is true, and that not *one*, but all the *rays* of truth had at that instant taken possession of his soul: I say at that instant, at the next, “his malevolence was at hand to extinguish “the rising light.” He gave the *milk* in plenty, but like the niggard mischievous beast, he *kicks it down* as soon as given.

Mr. Coke’s place of residence offends him, “it is distant three hundred miles,” Page 11. Pray in the name of common sense let us ask this malicious scribler, how often, during the present parliament, applications and embassies upon public business of the county have been sent to *Kymerley*? to *Merton*? or from *Norwich*, to *Earlham* or *Gunton*? are not all addresses to members sent to the *capital*? do not all members from all parts, assemble there? and is not that the *seat* of business? where is your member to serve you but in *Westminster*? of what signification is it where his country place of residence is? in regard to parliamentary transactions it is of none, but in *another* respect it may, which probably our
hungry

hungry author has his eye on; if our member has no house in Norfolk, he cannot give *dinners* to his electors quite so often.

But “ he is *sorry* to see him lend his respectable name to a few families, to all of whom “ he must one day be superior; *sorry* to see “ him act so much *beneath his dignity*; *sorry* to “ see him sink the weight of his family in the “ *foam** of other men’s ambition.” p. 11. Here is a true instance of *Machievellian* spirit! how jealousies amongst them, *divide et impera*. Whenever I hear a man in party usher in a speech with the word *sorry*, and an affected concern for a candidate’s interest, I put that man down as an *enemy*, and that nothing would give him so much joy, as to see that very occurrence take place, which he pretends to lament. The word *sorry*, is a sorry word. I know a gentleman, not five hundred miles off, one of these very *friendly mourners*, who advised a candidate that had almost a certainty of

* I know not what the author could take this idea from, unless it be from the worthy *Justice* with two supporters; who on the day of nomination literally *foam’d* at the mouth, with perpetual cries of *Wodehouse* for ever! *Wodehouse*! Aye, Sir! Yes, Sir! Right, Sir! *Wodehouse*, Sir! Very right, Sir! *Wodehouse*! *Wodehouse* for ever, Sir! We’ll support you, Sir.

“ We’ll support you, Sir! replies an honest freeholder with “ a loud laugh; why, Sir, your worship cannot support yourself; “ you have neither money nor legs.”

—tribus anticyris caput insanabile!—

of his election, (*out of real regard to him*) to desist; and called his best supporters a pack of f——s: I knew the same gentleman that very day, in the absence of his pretended friend, offer a fifty pound bank note to get two votes against him, out of fear that he should *come in*.

What is still more extraordinary is, that the same gentleman pressed his pretended friend, the candidate, tho' very inconvenient to him, to take a bed at his house; and while he was sleeping (as he thought) under a friend's hospitable roof, this gentleman was giving a mortal stab to his guest, by secretly and ungenerously endeavouring to undermine his interest in that material point which he had most at heart; and this, notwithstanding his warm protestations of regard and esteem for him, delivered but a few hours before. He went even further if possible, declaring himself to be the candidate's enemy, his bitter and determined enemy; yet still carries on the outward face of friendship to him; and all it's treacherous and (too often captivating!) appearances.

Hic niger est! hunc tu, Romane, caveto.

Mr. COKE has joined himself to families and interests of as great weight as any in the county; there is no probability of his ever
H having

having any reason to repent his honorable connections. They are noblemen and gentlemen the first in character, and they are no friends to *arbitrary* measures of government, or *unconstitutional* stretches of authority.

We will excuse the author his concern for Mr. Coke, who may, perhaps, be too dangerous an opponent to his employers, and from whence his real apprehensions most probably arise; and now we will draw the curtain and close the gallery scene, the recollection of which, with the acclamations attending one set of gentlemen, and the general hiss, and moderate applause* attending the other, may afford our author but little satisfaction. Mr. Dryden, had he been alive, might have thank'd him to have omitted those two miserable lines he has selected out of his admirable compositions,

‘With an ill grace your friends their mischiefs do,
‘They’ve both ill nature, and ill manners too.’

Ill natured people are without doubt, the people most inclined to do mischief, but who they are is not quite so clear; to be sure our author
is

* “The feeble efforts of the tools of General Warrants, and
“despotic administrations; the last faint gleam of an insolent,
“expiring, and despicable faction.”

is very *happy* in his party; they are the *best* natured, *best* bred men alive, and were not the *first* to usher in *personal* abuse; they began with no defamatory songs, or private detraction of the new candidates; they had no malevolence of tongue or heart, and their bosoms overflowed with *the milk* of *human tenderness*.

——— *Risum teneatis amici?*

Our candid and impartial author, as he would be thought, Page 1, "*whose reasoning is urged with decency*, nor is one expression "*to escape him unbecoming his character*," (pity! he would not give us some faint idea what his character is) Having slightly introduced HONESTUS, (a signature few of his party care to make use of) for the sake of a long Latin quotation, no ways applicable indeed to the circumstance he vainly endeavours to ridicule; passes on to another combatant or adversary, against whom all the venom of his malignant soul, is collected and discharged; but like the serpent on the file, he wounds himself alone, and the blood that trickles down in crimson currents is his own.

Fragili quærens illidere dentem
Offender solido———

The freeholder; the *lack-land* freeholder as he is pleased to term him, combating on

the side of truth and liberty, has pressed the enemy too close; has unravelled all their plots, laid open their mischievous designs, discovered their weakness, and what is not to be forgiven, has cut off their retreat.* No wonder then that he is represented as a man “unawed
“by conscience, unchecked by modesty, un-
“silenced by conviction, advances to the charge
“with a malicious impatience, and perseveres
“in it with an unexampled insolence.”

To these envenomed shafts, to this virulent and ungentleman-like abuse, he answers with the poet in the motto to this

Falsus honor juvat, et MENDAX INFAMIA terret
Quem? nisi *Mendosum* et *Mendacem*?

The freeholder is as little disturbed at the latter,
as

* The only plausible argument made use of in favour of the vote of the H. of C. to postpone the consideration of GENERAL WARRANTS, was as follows:

“It was thought that this point would be more regularly determined in the Courts of Law, where it was THEN depending.”

Now the Freeholder has proved this assertion to be absolutely FALSE, by shewing,

“That the present great Lord Chancellor had declared his
“opinion, and that of the Court of Common Pleas, to be, that
“General Warrants were *Illegal* and *Unconstitutional*, above
“TWO MONTHS before the House of Commons took them
“into consideration or debate.” ——— See Freeholder's Letter of Nov. 16, 1767, in answer to the second advertisement of Sir Armine Wodehouse and Mr. De Grey, published Nov. 14, 1767, in the Norwich Mercury.

as the vain glorious conqueror of Q—— is transported and exalted by the former. False honor, and unmerited abuse, alike ‘play round the head, but never touch the heart.’

The gentleman pointed at with this extreme degree of rancour, is what a stranger would scarcely credit, an officer who has served his country during the last war, with a reputation unimpeached; and, thro’ the chance of destination, has been engaged in a severity of action, much beyond what his boasted general ever in his life experienced in his own person. His character throughout the whole of this infamous production, for so I shall distinguish it, at least as far as it concerns this gentleman, is villainously traduced, and wilfully misrepresented.

With regard to his writings during this contest of parties, it does by no means appear as yet, that his notions are *false*, or his arguments *fallacious*; for they have not been confuted hitherto, or indeed but little controverted; nothing has been advanced against his papers, but bold assertions unsupported by facts; quibbling and disingenuous advertisements from the old members; and despicable evasions from the prostituted pens of such party tools and instruments as our author; your *passive obedience* and *non resistance* gentlemen, ever the
foul

foul accomplices of tyranny and oppression. Where has the conviction been dealt out so liberally, that was to silence this advocate for liberty and the constitution of his country, and who in it's defence "*advanced to the charge*" "*with a malicious impertinence!*" May the friends of liberty, and our much envied constitution, ever exert the same *malicious impertinence*, and be as troublesome and as numerous as they are at present. The king of France complained to an Hibernian general in his service, that the Irish brigades "*were represented to him as giving more trouble than all*" "*the rest of his forces;*" "*all your majesty's*" "*enemies say the same,* replied the general." Reproach and slander must be levelled against the freeholder, as truth and fact cannot be brought into the ranks against him; the *lack land* freeholder! who must not use his reason, because he is not rich; 'tis insolence for him to dare to do it; aye, there's the rub! a *poor* man to presume to think, to act, to explain, to recommend? to set his face against oppression, and arrest the hand that offers violence to his country? to bare the bosom of the traitor and expose the lurking ruffian to the public vengeance? these are crimes that must not be forgiven in a man, to whom the partial goddess of all worldly

ly

ly grandeur has dealt her favors with a sparing hand; yet we are told by authority, not to be questioned, "that the voice of a poor man, has saved a city in distress."

Let us then retort upon this malicious scrib-
ler, this foe inveterate to his country's free-
dom, and it's truest interest, his own injuri-
ous accusations; and hurl them at his head
with indignation and contempt. Let us give
him out to the whole county, what he truly
is, and walk him round with a description on
his breast, pen'd in capitals of his own hand
writing, 'till he is mark'd the object of univer-
sal scorn, as "a wretch unmoved by con-
science, unchecked by modesty, and unsi-
lenced by conviction."

This brings us to his malevolent attack up-
on the London letter of October 3, 1767,
which is of a piece with all the rest. Here
misrepresentation and evasion is called in again
to his assistance, and the case of GENERAL
WARRANTS, in defiance of *known facts*,
and *uncontroverted authorities*, in defiance of
all reason and argument, in defiance of all de-
cency and *repeated* confutation; is *falsely* sta-
ted, *wire-drawn*, and *fritter'd* away by un-
intelligible distinctions, and impudent equi-
vocations.

There

There is no position laid down in that letter, but what is warranted by past experience, and what cannot be denied but by the most hardened abettor of an arbitrary administration. Has not the over-ruling influence of the earl of B—— (one of our author's most *respectable* characters) been universally complained of since the present accession? is it not complain'd of to this hour? does he not *turn in* and *turn out* the servants of the c—— at pleasure*? have not his measures of administration been looked upon as tyrannical, arbitrary, and held in detestation by the public? have not all his proceedings tended directly contrary to, and counteracted the glorious principles of the revolution, which saved this country from destruction? has he not concluded, or been the principal adviser of a peace, by which the glory of the nation has been tarnished, and our valuable acquisitions sacrificed? our allies *abandoned*, our conquests *ceded* to the enemy? are not these FACTS? but our opponents love not to deal in *facts*; they hate them, and well they may, for they uniformly make against them, and are too stubborn to bend.

Magna est VERITAS et PREVALEBIT.

Our

* The Earl of Buckinghamshire was dismissed Nov. 11, 1767, from his post as one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, for opposing the Thane, and his Scotch co-adjutors.

Our author *deigns* to form “ a syllogism” from this letter to the freeholders of the county of Norfolk, dated October 3, 1767, how much soever he *affects* to despise it. Come my *prince* of logick, my *distiller* of syllogisms, and who does the freeholder so much “ *honor*” by *methodizing* an argument which all his sophistry cannot weaken: let us attend a little to this plausible arrangement.

“ GENERAL WARRANTS are
“ illegal and unconstitutional. Granted.

“ Sir A—— and Mr. De G—— voted in fa-
“ vour of general warrants. Denied.

“ Therefore they are to be avoided and re-
“ jected as men dangerous to the constituti-
“ on.”

If the minor in his syllogism is proved, the consequence must be admitted of course.

Sir A—— W—— did, *beyond contradic-
tion*, give his vote, on the seventeenth day of
February, 1764, that DAY OF TRIAL
for the LIBERTIES of ENGLISH-
MEN, to “ *postpone the consideration* of
“ GENERAL WARRANTS” ’till a
day on which he knew the parliament would
not be *sitting*; ’till what is called a *long* day;
’till that day FOUR MONTHS.

I

Our

Our confederate authors will not dispute this fact I presume, it being every where acknowledged. Now the public, common sense, common candor, disinterested observation, uninfluenced reason, must determine, not our equivocating *jesuistical* disputants, whether

“ The voting to *adjourn* that important question of GENERAL WARRANTS to
 “ a LONG day, was, or was not, voting in
 “ FAVOR of General Warrants ?

The scripture says, “ He that is not for me, “ is against me.” Let our *Jesuit* produce a better authority.

Lord T—— being *then* in the house of commons, Mr. De G—— does not fall under this description ; but he *vindicates* those measures, and *their supporters* ; he did it in the *face* of the *county* as before observed ; of course he makes them *his own*, and therefore comes in for his share of the guilt ; for nothing is more true than that,

The man who *speaks* in favor of General Warrants, oppressive measures, and dangerous unconstitutional designs, would *vote* in favor of them all ; if opportunity offered, and he had *a vote to give*.

The unprejudiced part of the county reasoned thus on the day of nomination, October the eighth ; and Mr De G—— is therefore
 subject

subject to, and ought to share, an equal proportion of that resentment, which shall, on account of this transaction, fall upon Sir A—— on the day of election. I know not how it was, whether in complaisance to his *nominator* lord T——, who *pricked* him as his candidate, or to what other reason it may be owing; but Mr. De G—— has appeared *rather fond* of introducing, and arguing upon, these horrid warrants, and always in *vindication* of them. At the mayor's feast at Lynn, on the twenty ninth of September, 1767, he took up his freedom, an honor conferred upon the steady whig his father, and in whose right he succeeded to it: one would have imagined that he had little to do on that occasion, but to return thanks to the corporation; but instead of that he *started* the subject of General Warrants, told his hearers that liberty was a matter of nice distinction, and not to be understood by every body, and launched out into a pompous harangue and justification of these warrants; and this was the more extraordinary, because it was in a *place* where the doctrine of General Warrants, and arbitrary measures, had been exploded and condemned; and a paper inscribed *General Warrants* in CAPITALS, BURNT in a bonfire not two years before on the public market hill, amidst the universal acclamations of the people.

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Now I have mentioned lord T—— on this occasion, as Mr. De G——'s principal, I shall just observe to our author, that his lordship is the *avowed* abettor of the earl of B—— and acknowledges himself at this time to have been promoted to the vice royalty of I—— by his *sole* recommendation and interest. Our author also is pleased to say, that the freeholder as above mentioned, is *grown hoary* in *defamation*: I desire he will please to recollect a few of the numerous exhibitions of this right honorable defamer, who may, with truth perhaps, be said to have dealt more freely in scandal than most others in this county; and, for ought I know, is at present the most virulent libeller in the three kingdoms. What eminent characters has he not suffered his audacious pencil to sport with? who of the first nobility has he not disfigured in his insolent *caricaturas*? has the R—— F—— even escaped? no, not even the PRINCE*, whose

* “ No body appears to be more touched upon this unhappy
 “ occasion than Lord *Caricature*, who is distinguished for his
 “ warm zeal and friendship for the *Favourite*. This vain, in-
 “ solent, splenetic creature's malignity, has led him to hold
 “ out the most respectable characters to vulgar scorn and ridi-
 “ cule; nay his rancour and malevolence carried him so far, as
 “ to burlesque our great and immortal deliverer from rebellion,
 “ because this *libeller* had been treated by him with the con-
 “ tempt he so justly deserved, and which indeed he receives
 universally.

whose bread he was eating, and under whose roof he was munificently lodged and entertained.

The author now proceeds to his flimsy and deceitful explanation of General Warrants, hackney'd down from the minister, to the lowest dependent on his power, with astonishing effrontery; and, as he himself expresses it, with "unexampled insolence." His arguments, or more properly, his *quirks* and *quibbles*, have been so often exposed and confuted by the *freeholder*, and other writers on that subject, that to give them a particular answer here, would be idle and insignificant, and to keep the attention of the reader, only to explain to him, what he is already convinced of, and has read before. I shall therefore content myself with annexing, by way of appendix at the end of these sheets, a few pages from that able lawyer, the author of the letter "Concerning libels, warrants, seizure of papers, and security of the peace," a work read with avidity

"universally. There is one circumstance however in the character of this mean and despicable humourist, which is ridiculous. Tho' he sickens at all merit, and is a *friend* to arbitrary and despotic measures, he attempted to court popularity by espousing a constitutional measure; but his natural insolence, pride, and ill-temper are such, that he has failed of all popularity and esteem, both in his own county, and every where else."

London, March, 1766.

avidity, universally applauded, and to this day uncontroverted; they will be a full answer to the futile arguments of this letter writer; and to all others who shall *hereafter* endeavour to *puzzle* and *confound* the minds of HONEST ELECTORS by vain conceits and laboured distortions of logick; by falsehood and misrepresentation; by a medley of nonsense and jargon, which they *don't believe* one single word of; and which are only thrown out as a temporary imposition on the publick, and to disturb the imagination of the *uninformed*.

Sir EDWARD ASTLEY is a gentleman whose ancestors have long represented this county in parliament: Sir *Jacob Astley* was returned in the contested election of 1710, and what was more to his honor, was elected with Mr. De Grey, in the contested election of the year 1715; when the succession of the present Royal Family to the crown, in consequence of the act of SETTLEMENT, framed and carried thro' the legislative body by king William, and the *revolution* patriots, was openly opposed by force of arms and an unnatural rebellion. Sir *Edward's* family were ever men of revolution principles, as he professes himself to be in this his present application;

plication; Sir *Philip Astley* in the memorable æra of 1734, with Mr. *Philip*, and *Thomas Astley*, supported the interest of Mr. COKE and MORDEN, so they cannot be supposed to be of the number of those “Honest
“ancestors, whose indignant spirits burst from
“their tombs, and shake their venerable heads
“to see their descendant starting aside like
“a broken bow, and become an instrument
“in the hands of a Morden.”

Ampullas et sesquipedalia verba!

They voted for Morden, and therefore could not be supposed to condemn a conduct in their descendant, which, when alive, they adopted themselves. Some inter-marriages, or matrimonial connections with the house of *Kymberley*, might, at one time, draw off the *Melton* interest; but it must be remembered, that when that event took place, it was the first that any branches of the *Melton* family were united with men, considered of *anti-revolutional* principles; or what was called the *Tory* party. The owners and heirs of *Melton*, were *originally* Whigs, and the family a Whig family throughout, till the æra now described: of course the obligation conferred upon the house of *Kymberly*, by the *Astley's*, in supporting their elections, was the greater; and especially as it
was

was done at no inconsiderable expence. This will be allowed by every unprejudiced person, to have challenged as warm a return on the part of Sir *Armine*.

Sir EDWARD in every *other* respect as well as *principle*, is qualified to represent this county, and worthy of the important trust to be reposed in him: his property is great, his private character amiable, his disposition mild and even, his abilities unquestioned, his integrity untainted; of a courteous deportment, easy and affable to all: his censorious antagonist offers no attack upon him here: what avenue is there then open? can envy and malignity discover no approach to some unguarded part of him?

Yes, one there is, or one he would fain incline us to believe there is, and here the battery of malice is directed.

“ There was a time, says he, when I should
 “ have rejoiced to have seen his interest rise
 “ in the county; there was a time when it
 “ depended on himself to raise it; had he
 “ pursued his declared intention on the death
 “ of lord Townshend, probably he would not
 “ have been opposed, most probably he would
 “ have succeeded.” Page 15.

Reasoning upon probabilities, may mislead more than the dancing vapour of his *ignis fatuus*,

fatuus, and in this particular case, is very sure to bring us into the dirt. Lord T——'s declarations have been so often contradicted; his I——p has so often contradicted himself; his own reports have been so various and so inconsistent, that no opinion can with any certainty be formed; if there could, I think there was a greater probability that Sir Edward would have been opposed; as it is well known how anxious lord T——d was to introduce Mr. De G——y, and to divide and weaken the formidable interest of Sir Edward. Sir Henry L'Estrange, whose honour and veracity no one will call in question, declared to many gentlemen now living, that "Lord T——d had promised him, on his last election, that if Sir Edward Astley would offer himself at the following one, he would *resign in his favor.*"

Our author says, "Lord T——d could not be *prevailed upon* to *recollect* his promise?" PREVAILED UPON to recollect his promise! what is the man "Of *so many illustrious virtues*, both *private* and *public*" (page 6.) so little to be depended upon, that he must be *prompted* into a *recollection* of *himself*? are his friends to be called in to revive in him the memory of his past

K engage-

engagements? and even this without success? What has his lordship drank so deep of the waters of Scotch oblivion, that no traces of a promise of his honor, that sacred *oath* of p—s, are to be discovered? of his honor, pawned and engaged? or does the author mean he could not be prevailed upon to *own* his *recollection*?

But he further says, ‘What has lord Townshend to do with us and our representatives?’ I say so too, and his lordship was of our opinion *formerly*, it being his declaration, not his *private* but his *public* declaration, (if it does not escape that *treacherous* memory also) ‘that if he lived to be a p—r, and attempted to concern himself in the election of a *commoner* in this county, he sincerely wished he might be p—— upon in every village he passed through.’

Yet it is a notorious truth, and what our author dares not contradict, that this *unhappy-minded* n———n (*I mean as to his recollection only*) not only takes a part, a considerable part at this juncture, in this contest, but also that Mr. D—G— was *originally* of his *nomination before*, as he is *now*; that Sir A—— was threatened, not to say *bullied*, out of his attachment

ment

ment to Sir Edward, and that in the whole of that transaction, lord T——d was the main and principal instrument at bottom that withheld the powers of Sir A—— from the field of Action: Sir Armine wanted resolution to espouse Sir Edward, and his friends, with warmth of spirit; he dreaded the united weight of the p—s; his Warwickshire friend above consulted foresaw the opposition that would follow, and that allowing even the shadowy probability of no contest, that Sir A—— would be drop'd at the *General Election*, as two members of the same family would never be permitted by the p——s to represent the county, at least without a violent struggle.

Our author may in vain endeavour to conceal and hide from publick view the interested motives of Sir Armine's conduct; Sir Armine dare not boldly enter the lists, nor did he offer it, notwithstanding the positive assertions of the Letter-writer: to do him justice, his inclination might *biafs* him to Sir Edward, but being of a timorous disposition, as he is universally known to be, he trembled to encounter his Right Honourable antagonists. This is the real truth, and the source of all that reluctance and uncertainty of conduct, which Sir A—— manifested in his conversation with Sir Edward and Mr. Milles. The suddenness

of the application surprized and disconcerted him; his natural want of resolution threw him out of himself; fear of losing his seat on a future contest, and the threats of his formidable opponents, staggered him, and in the end overpower'd all those favourable sentiments that gratitude to the *Melton* family had at *first* inspired; his *luke-warm* answers were not the effect of personal dislike to Sir Edward, his interest, or his friends; they were the effect of fear, and fear only; and if a paper war continues to another General Election, every thing wrote in contradiction to this position, will appear to an impartial and unprejudiced mind, to be meer sophistry, quibble, and evasion: it would not be more absurd to assert, that the illustrious house of C—v—nd—sh is united in this contest with the house of K—y, out of pure regard to the *true liberty* of the subject, and from *revolution-principles* alone; and that no specious bait has ever been thrown out to work upon the tender feelings of two fond parents, or the hint of a young W—lp—le or T—nsh—d ever suggested, or had in idea, as joint candidates upon a future representation of this county.

Credat Judæus Apella.

Our

Our author asks, ' If Sir Edward ever shewed an inclination to join Sir A——e 'till ' within a quarter of an hour before they went ' into the hall? I shall reply to this by another ' question? Did Sir Armine ever shew any inclination to join Sir Edward, not only 'till ' within a quarter of an hour before the meeting at the hall, but from the time of the ' last election?' Where were Sir A——e's applications made? Where his visits? to Melton or to R——m? Could Sir A——e be presumed to act in favor of Sir Edward's interest, by perpetual expeditions to R——m or H——n? Or could any plan *to draw* with Sir Edward, be supposed to be laid, or formed at either place? I will refer myself to the candid reader for an answer, and rest upon his honest verdict. What does our scurrilous and senseless writer mean by saying, that Sir Edward ' had formed connections inconsistent ' with the honor of Sir A——?' I am sure this question of his will puzzle and perplex more of his readers than myself; but 'tis possible he might be a little *over-taken* at the time he composed this unintelligible part of his empty performance, and his *crony* and boon companion the *bricklayer*, had kept him up too late the preceding night at *all-fours*; or that his *soft* assistant, whom envy, pride, or malice never

in-

*one Horner
Leonard
Buckton*

influenced against the dictates of his heart, who hates an argument even tho' it were to win a freeholder, might have been detached upon some *militia* command at a distance, or was posting thirty miles into the country, upon some *party-session* of the *peace*. These fatalities might have occurred, and we all know that however built for *shallow* waters and to draw but little, the lightest skiff without a *rudder*, will *settle* upon some *flat*, perhaps with difficulty to be got off.

That Sir Armine has deserted his friends, or that he has attached himself principally to lord T——d, is, and has been, visible to the whole county for some time past, and to attempt to prove it, is like proving the sun to shine, when there are no clouds in the horizon to obstruct his meridian rays, and you actually feel his melting power upon you.

That Sir Edward may have been deceived by lord T——, may bear an argument, but no man in his senses will ever believe that Sir A—— has been abandoned by Sir Edward: I never heard that Sir Edward was upon any *private* treaty at Sh—m, H—h—m or elsewhere, to defeat the just pretensions of Sir A—— to the public favour: no *Melton* engines were ever employed to undermine and blow up the fortifications of K——y.

Let

Let us recur back a little to Sir A——'s behaviour in 1747. At this æra the late earl of Buckinghamshire, and the late Lord Townshend, publickly solicited votes in favor of their eldest sons: Sir Armine took the alarm, and flew for relief to Mr. F——s; Mr. F——s promised his assistance, and Mr. B——xt——n stood by him also on this emergency: Did the Melton family desert him, or he them, on that interesting occasion? Or did they utter *lukewarm* promises of support, and give *faint* glimmering hopes, of future friendship? No, on the contrary they were steady and firm to their alliance, they broke no treaties, they deceived no party. How did Sir A—— act? On the day of Nomination, the weathercock at K——y shifted: The wind blew fresh, and irresistibly from another quarter: He drop'd Mr. F——s, Mr. B——xt——n, and their connections, and went over to Lord T——d, struck with a panick, and hid himself deep in the ranks of the enemy. They brought him out in the face of the publick afterward, as his desertion had considerably weakened the opposition intended against them, for they loved the tr——n, tho' they despised the T——r. They have supported him ever since from the same motive, and R——m has been his head Quarters from that hour to this.

In

In the present Contest, Sir A—— declares early for Mr. D— G— : This, I suppose, he justifies from the pleasing recollection that the father of Mr. D— G— declared *against* him as Candidate with Lord Coke in 1741, and also that the father of Sir Edward *stood* by him at that juncture, and indeed all others. Mr. F—ll—s and Mr. B—xt—n join Sir Edward in present contest, and oppose Sir A——.

From the above representation, and I trust it is a true one, I will appeal to the candid reader, if Sir A—— has any right to tax Sir Edward, Mr. F—ll—s, Mr. B—xt—n, and probably many others connected with those gentlemen, with deserting him at this crisis? And whether the charge of abandoning former connections, former friends, and former principles, is not more applicable, and with greater propriety and justice to be imputed to the house of K——y, than the house of Melton?

Hear all, and then *let reason hold the scale.*

*Mr. Preston
who was said
at that time
to be desirous
of being a Ba-
son.*

I will in this matter even appeal to Sir Isaac ; I know he will set his *Bloody Hand* to it as soon as he obtains it, and for that purpose I will occasionally refresh the mind of the A——y G——l and Lord W——le ; they may have better memories than the R——m p——r, and “ may be prevailed upon perhaps to Recollect “ them-

themselves." If not, a line from Lady W—— to Lord B——te, or the Duke of B——d, or one from Sir Armine to the same public spirited ministers, and also to Lord H——nd, that Prodigy of true Patriotism! will do the business, or t'other jolly bout at Bloomsbury, if the Knight be not too early *overtaken*; if so a trip at their *Levies* as usual, will carry it thro' effectually. Lord H——ll——nd remembers his friend Sir Armine as far off as Nice, writes to support him, and him *only*. O! Sir Isaac will certainly be a *Baronet*! Ch——s T——wnsh——nd is now no more!

If Sir Edward has now formed 'Measures' inconsistent with the honor and interest of Sir 'A———e' the county will glory in the accusation, and the friends of Sir Edward be proud to own the charge; for the late measures of Sir A———e and his new allies, have proved themselves of a nature, no ways beneficial to the county of Norfolk, or the kingdom. His support of GENERAL WARRANTS, and an arbitrary S——h administration will never recommend him to the applause of his Norfolk constituents, however harmonious the sweet notes of tyranny and oppression, may sound in the Irish ears of the Th——s despotic, and despicable deputy at R .

It is no reflection upon Sir Edward, that he now opposes Mr. De G——, to whom he declined all opposition before: he then considered him as an independent country gentleman, and not as the substitute of lord T——d, or as a partisan of lord B——; and a supporter by inclination as well as influence, of arbitrary measures of government.

He was guilty of no revolt, he abandoned no fortrefs; but he found a mutiny rising amongst the troops, and his principal ally in private correspondence with the enemy; in a word, he saw *Sempronius* dressing in the robes of *Juba*; he was ill-served by those he most depended upon, and was obliged to consent to the surrender of the town, before he was properly put at the head of the garrison.

The author concludes his character of Sir A——e, by observing that ‘ he has uniformly for upwards of thirty years, supported the *liberty* of the people, and the *just* authority and real dignity of the crown.’ His conduct in the affair of *General Warrants*, and his attachment to the Th——e and his *Cocoa Tree connections*, will best explain these two articles of recommendation: In regard to crown measures, or what are called the acts of administration, it is well known that he was
uniform

uniform in his opposition to them, and never gave a vote in favor of any one ministry whatever, 'till the present accession: I hope the county will reward his merit as it deserves.

The Author, to finish, as he set out, with unprovoked scurrility, cannot take his leave of Mr. *Buxton*, whom he fawns upon like a base and crouching spaniel, that dreads the whip at one time, and impotently snarls at it in a moment after, without recurring to the first object of his rage, the stubborn audacious *Freeholder*, whose galling fire has not yet been silenced by a long chain of batteries, *masqued* and *open*, that party virulence has raised against him.

———— tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor, *prava* jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solida; ———

This is the man to be run down, to be blacken'd with all publick, all private scandal; his insolent efforts in the cause of liberty, of honor, of his country, are crimes never to be forgot, or to be forgiven; and the less so, because he

fights under the banner of *Truth*, resistless truth; ever *victorious*, because invulnerable: our caviller and his confederate friends of the Plaid have found the shafts of truth too keen, too well directed, and the sore still festers in their canker'd bosoms:

Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

Having taxed Mr. Buxton (p. 22) with “deserting his ‘*Old friends, and old cause, which*’ he impudently files the cause of *virtue* and ‘*of honor*, and more impudently, the cause of ‘*Liberty* and his country,” in defiance of General Warrants, *Stamp-Acts*, *Extensions of Excise*, illegal *Stretches of Authority*, extensions of power, almost *Inquisitorial*, he makes his lunge at his mortal enemy the *Lackland Freeholder*, whose character he obliquely *compliments* at the time he most intends to *wound* it. He accuses Mr. *Buxton* of ‘throwing himself *into the arms* of the Freeholder:’ was this true, it would be a higher compliment than he would choose to make; but, unfortunately, he is as little to be relied upon in this assertion, as in all the past. Mr. *Buxton*, whose reputation is too exalted, to be reached by the longest arrow in his envenom’d quiver, tho’ *feather’d* from the *Grey-goose* wings of his whole party, wants no advocate to defend or varnish over that conduct,

duct which he has thought proper to adopt, and which every disinterested man of honor must approve of; the cause he has espoused cannot be controverted to be the cause of liberty and the people, and the candidates he supports, are gentlemen of unblemished integrity; whom he is attached to, from an opinion that they will steadily in parliament promote the true interest of this county. Mr. COKE is now in parliament, and gave a damnatory vote against all General Warrants, and unconstitutional proceedings, on the ever memorable 17th of February 1764; his past behaviour in the senate, of course entitles him to the applause and support of all good men, unprejudiced and enlightened, like Mr. Buxton; Sir EDWARD ASTLEY for the first time offers his service to the public; he professes himself to be a determined friend to the CONSTITUTION of his country, to the FREEDOM and RIGHTS of the people, and to be actuated by REVOLUTION principles; and these are the principles which alone have saved, and can in any time of danger, save this distracted country from slavery and ruin, and from becoming, past redemption, a miserable and tributary province to the crown of *France*. Mr. *Buxton* can assign his reasons, (and most probably has done it often) with greater propriety,

ty than any other person; and is never at a loss to approve to the world, the rectitude of his political engagements.

But Mr. Buxton 'despises the person, and abhors the character' of the gentleman alluded to: 'till Mr. Buxton *openly avows* that contempt, and *proclaims* that detestation, this malevolent and despicable railer has no right to give it out, or spread so mischievous a report.

His more *private* accusations are false and villainous, and must be propagated against the conviction of his own corrupt, malicious and hardened heart: In those infamous assertions he gives his conscience the *Lye*, and knowingly commits a greater outrage against the family he professes to esteem, than any part of it has ever suffered else where.

The liberties the author has thus taken in the dark with this gentleman, are as observed before, such as he dares not avow in publick to his person; for *Cowardice* and *Falsboood*, *Fear* and *Baseness* most commonly are found united; the act of assassination in murders is ever committed thro' the *pussillanimous* directions of some *rank Poltron*.

The gentleman who is supposed to be the subject of so much slander and ill-nature, as is vented here, was brought up at the university; is of a good family, and had sacrificed his interest

terest with the late earl of O——, the auditor of the exchequer, (and who had of course great opportunities of providing for young people,) to his friendship, to the present lord T——: by whose connections, he was taken from college at a minute's warning, and sent abroad upon a *wild Goose chase*, and without provision, or any *fixed* establishment, ordered to make the campaign of 1744; the expences of which, he has never been reimbursed to this hour; and which have remained a debt upon him ever since, encumbered him throughout life, and ruined him the very first year of his setting out in it, without the least impeachment on his conduct, on the contrary, with letters of approbation, now in his possession.

It is true he was not long *deceived* in his expectations from lord T——, he very early discovered that nobleman's disposition, and from the following occurrence.

In April, 1744, he went from Antwerp to Brussels, to meet his l—— at the hotel de Flandres, at his request: he staid a day or two, and was then for returning: his l—— pressed him to go with him to *Ghent*, to see the inauguration of the queen of Hungary. He declined it, upon not having more money than
was

was sufficient to carry him back to *Antwerp*; 'never mind money, I will supply you, I have enough, was the answer.' He went: on his return to *Brussels*, on application to his l—— and that for no more than three or four ducats, he was *refused*, and to his astonishment with this answer; 'This is ever the case, people run themselves into distress, and then are angry that their friends will not relieve them in their *extravagance*.' At this time, (his l—— excepted) this gentleman was a *stranger* at *Brussels*, not acquainted with a soul he could ask a favor of that kind from; he said, *as he should be back again the following week*, at *Brussels*, he would leave his bill at the *Hotel de Flandres*, 'till he returned; the friendly answer was, 'if you do, the people of the house will look very *shy* upon you.' Not knowing what to do in this unexpected dilemma, or where to go, he turned into the coffee house, met a gentleman just arrived who supplied his wants, and the next day he departed for *Antwerp*. In less than a week he was ordered to *Brussels*, and had then in his purse one hundred ducats; at the *Hotel de Flandres* his l—— was still remaining, and the evening he arrived, had lost *at play* more money than he had *at command*. Soon after, this gentleman

was

was called out by a waiter, and introduced into a private room, where, to his great amazement his L_____p was, who related to him his distress, and desired him to *lend him ten Ducats*. This was instantly complied with, and taking out his purse of one hundred ducats, beg'd his L_____ 'to take what part of it he 'pleased, or if he wanted it, *to take the whole*;' his L_____ took ten ducats, which afterward were repaid.

On his return to England, after the campaign of 1744, he was in hopes of having justice done him by the people who sent him out, but nothing was done for him, and so he was left by his Right Hon. family to struggle through the miseries and difficulties they had plunged him into, and which have remained with him throughout life: notwithstanding, his behaviour (however vilified he appears to be by this ungenerous traducer) has recommended him so far to the notice of persons of interest, that he has rose to the rank of a *Captain* in the service; and this will be, perhaps, allowed to be some degree of merit, where fortune was so totally wanting to his assistance.

Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi ———

The earl of *Buckinghamshire*, and Mr *George Hobart*, have condescended to recommend and promote this gentleman: they have been his most immediate friends, and happy should he ever think himself, could he in the smallest degree repay the great obligations he has received from them: still more happy is he to find them joined in the spirited opposition now so generally carried on against the servile, self-interested instruments of S---- oppression, against the base betrayers of the PUBLIC TRUST, of the LIBERTIES of the PEOPLE, of the PROSPERITY of the KINGDOM.

Success attend these, and all other the illustrious supporters of the cause of virtue and their country, wherever engaged! The times have been, and *still** are full of DANGER, and

* ' I wish with all my heart that our time may furnish no such examples: and yet I confess my fears are excited by appearances that are sufficiently alarming. The people of England have seen an administration formed, almost avowedly, under the direction of a dangerous, because *private* and *unresponsible* influence; and at the same time with an *outward* presidency of ministerial despotism, which by its very nature *annihilated* all public council. This they endured. They saw a course of the most *scandalous* and *corrupt* profusion of public money that ever was KNOWN in the kingdom, attended with such a neglect of every public duty, as if an experiment was intended to try how far the state could subsist by its *own* strength, without any of the usual aids of *active* government. The PEOPLE of ENGLAND bore this likewise.

' They saw the very first opportunity laid hold on to revive the doctrines of a dispensing power, state necessity, arcana of government, and all that clumsy machinery of *exploded* prerogative, which it had cost our ancestors so much *toil* and *treasure*, and BLOOD, to break to-pieces. This we suffered with our usual patience. They saw an attempt made to render all the *monied* property of the kingdom *loose* and *insecure*, and to turn our national funds from being supports of public credit into instruments

and had we not been blessed with a most gracious

instruments of *ministerial* power, and to take away that dependence upon LAW which had been in all ages the great SOURCE of our *domestic* happiness, and that firm reliance upon PUBLIC *faith* which has been the means of making us RESPECTABLE to all the world. The Englishman still continued sullen and silent.

Those very circumstances which strike terror into the heart of a *wise* man, are often such as inspire *fools* with confidence and presumption. Having had sufficient proof as they thought, of the *passive* disposition of their fellow citizens, and at a loss for *precedents* of *despotism* of a modern date in any *civilized* country, they began to ransack the stores of *antiquated* oppression, and ventured to perpetrate an act (by a singular composition) of such consummate audacity and meanness of spirit, as it might well be thought impossible to unite.

In subserviency to the O. IOUS INFLUENCE under which they act, this Administration dared—to an *Informer* nearly allied to that very influence—at the time, and for the purpose of an *Election*—refusing to *hear Counsel*—not daring to take the opinion of the K—s law servants—denying *access* to the *Records* in their possession—to pass a GRANT of the ESTATE of a NOBLE and most RESPECTABLE PERSON, derived from a King, to whom we owe ALL OUR LIBERTIES, SIXTY-THREE years in *undisputed* possession, the subject of frequent *Settlements*, and now actually a *part* of the JOINTURE of a noble D—fs.

The *people* of ENGLAND at length began to break silence. They might indeed look upon the private wrong as a matter of inward meditation, and a further exercise of their patience. But the principle of this grant has given a SHOCK TO THE WHOLE LANDED PROPERTY OF ENGLAND.

Called upon by this practical menace to all landed property, and by many other detached grievances arising from the same absurd and TYRANNICAL principle, THAT NO LENGTH OF POSSESSION SECURES AGAINST A CLAIM OF THE C——N, one of the ablest, most virtuous, and most temperate men in the kingdom, supported by a steady band of UNIFORM PATRIOTS, has made an attempt in a certain great Assembly (without providing any remedy for this case of oppression) to secure the subject at least for the future against such wild and indefinite Claims.

Such was the Spirit which manifested itself upon that occasion, that though for the present, after a glorious struggle, they have *failed*, there is no sort of doubt, that the CRY of REASON, JUSTICE, POLICY, and the GENERAL FEELING of the PEOPLE,

cious and accomplished prince, who owes his
throne

‘ PEOPLE, will shortly prevail ; and the rather, as this discussion
‘ has brought to light FURTHER DESIGNS of the most ex-
‘ traordinary nature, and such as will, if not timely prevented,
‘ SPREAD DISTRACTION FROM ONE END OF THE
‘ KINGDOM TO THE OTHER.”

Advertisement of his G—— the D—— of P——d to his Fo-
rest Tenants.

London, Jan. 30, 1768.

“ Whereas the L—— of the T—— have thought proper to grant
unto Sir J—— L——,* Bart. a lease of the crown’s *supposed* interest
in the forest of ——, in the country of C—— and the Manor
of Socage of the ——, with their respective Ap-
purtenances: And whereas the said Sir J—— L—— has given
notice and warning to all tenants of, and residents within the said
Forest and Manor; and to all Farmers, and occupiers, of any
lands and tenements, parcel of the said possessions, that they do
not pay any rents, or fines to any person, or persons whatsoever,
not legally authorized to receive the same by him; or do, or
perform, any suit, custom, or service, at any court, held other-
wise than by virtue of, and under the authority of the said
lease, as they will answer the contrary at their own peril, and
make themselves liable to pay the same over again.”

I therefore think it necessary to inform all such tenants, and
other persons above-mentioned, that I *do not* acquiesce under
such lease; or relinquish my right to, and possession of, the For-
est, Manor or Lands, above-described: and I further think it my
duty, as their friend, to remind them, that my claim is founded
on a grant made in the last century by King WILLIAM III. to
my great Grandfather, and his heirs for ever, and confirmed by
an uninterrupted possession of more than SIXTY YEARS: and
therefore I advise them, to pay no regard to the said notice, and
assure them, that in consequence of their so doing, neither their
persons nor properties, can or shall be affected, as I am deter-
mined to defend their rights, and my own.

* S——in-law to L—— B——.

throne to REVOLUTION PRINCIPLES, and who of course abhors *unwarrantable* acts of *power*, who is there among us can say but long e'er this our melancholy morning reflection had been, and miserable evening exclamation,

Fuimus Troes, *fuit* Ilium, et INGENS
GLORIA Teucrorum —

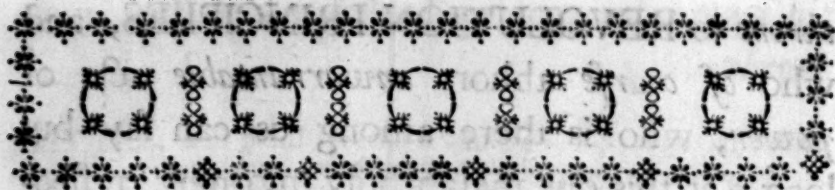
While *Tories*, torified *Whigs*, avowed *Papists*, suspected *Jacobites*, and pardon'd *Rebels*, had seized the helm of government; tore up the fundamentals of the constitution; spread rapine and desolation around the land; and, in the end, had buried their own vile, corrupt, and despicable carcases, under the ruins of the NOBLEST EDIFICE in the world, ENGLISH LIBERTY.

Diu! talem avertite casum!

A Hanoverian Whig.

London,
March 5, 1768.

Postscript.



Postscript.

AS the infatuated and mercenary disputants in favor of those abominable *engines of oppression*, GENERAL WARRANTS, have on all occasions founded the cry of PREJUDGEMENT, tho' it has been proved beyond contradiction by the *Freeholder* and others, that lord chief justice PRATT declated them from the bench to be, both UNCONSTITUTIONAL and ILLEGALL, on the sixth day of December, 1763, and that the *House of Commons* did not *enter upon the debate*, or *consideration* of their illegality, 'till the fourteenth of February, 1764, (above TWOMONTHS afterward;) it may not be improper to subjoin to these remarks, the following passage in the PROTEST of the HOUSE of PEERS, on the twenty ninth of November, 1763.

“ And it must be farther considered, that this
“ House (*the House of Peers*) is thus called upon
“ to

“ to give a *sanction* to the *determinations* of the
 “ other, who have not *condescended* to *confer* with us
 “ upon *this point*, ’till they had ——— P R E-
 “ JUDGED IT THEMSELVES!”

This protest was universally supposed to have been drawn up by that great lawyer, the late lord CHANCELLOR HARDWICKE, is enrolled upon the *Journals* of the *Lord’s House*, and is now standing out against all vindicators of the proceedings of the H———e of C———s, and its two hundred and thirty four *postponing* members on the score of *Prejudgement* to this very Hour; being an irrefragable Argument, and a Proof clear to demonstration,

“ That the H—— of C——— did not *sick*
 ‘ at *prejudging*, when they *liked the matter in*
 ‘ *band*. And indeed it cannot be supposed, that any of their members who were so forward and ready to *prejudge*, on November 29, 1763, could be very *nice* and *scrupulous* in *prejudging* on Feb. 17, 1764: had the *Motives* been the same, and the matter in hand as *agreeable*, the argument of *Prejudgment*, it is plain from the above PROTEST, would never have *stopped* them.

How vain and impotent are all *evasions*, when FACT is brought against them! How despicable the instruments of *misrepresentation*, when TRUTH stares them in the FACE.

London,
 March 7, 1768.

NORFOLK

NORFOLK Candidates and Members who voted
AGAINST General Warrants.

WENMAN COKE, Esq; CANDIDATE for the
COUNTY of Norfolk.

B O R O U G H S.

The Hon. THOMAS WALPOLE, Candidate for
LYNN.

Right Hon. Sir EDWARD WALPOLE, Member
for YARMOUTH.

The Hon. HORATIO WALPOLE, Member for
LYNN.

Right Hon. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY,
AUBREY BEAUCLERK, Esq;
Members for THETFORD.

CHARLES TOWNSEND, Esq; Member for
YARMOUTH.

City of NORWICH.

HARBORD HARBORD, Esq;

NORFOLK Members, whose names are NOT
to be found in the list of TWO HUNDRED
AND TWENTY Representatives, who were
THE MINORITY on February 17, 1764;
and who bravely stood up in defence of the *Rights*
and *Privileges*, and LIBERTY of the SUB-
JECT, when attacked by an *arbitrary* and *cor-*
rupt S— administration.

Th

The Hon. GEORGE (now Lord) TOWNSHEND,
Sir ARMINE WODEHOUSE, Bart.

Members for the COUNTY of Norfolk.

BOROUGH.

Sir JOHN TURNER, Bart. Member for LYNN.

City of NORWICH.

EDWARD BACON, Esq;

THOMAS DE GREY, Esq; was elected in the room, and on the interest of Lord Townshend. Not being in the House of Commons, he did not vote *in favor* of GENERAL WARRANTS; he *only spoke twice* in favor of them, viz.

At the MAYOR's Feast at LYNN, Sept. 29, 1767.

On the Day of NOMINATION for the COUNTY, October 8, 1767.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 40, line 8, for *Non* read *Nam*.

44, line 23, for *Perquisite* read *Peerage*.

The Hon. GEORGE (now Lord) TOWNSHEND,
SIR ARMINIE WOODHOUSE, Bart.
Members for the COUNTY of NORFOLK.

BOROUGH.

SIR JOHN TURNER, Bart. Member for LYNN.
City of NORWICH.

EDWARD BACON, Esq.

THOMAS DE GREY, Esq. was elected in the
room, and on the instant Townshend, not
being in the House of Commons, did not vote
in favor of GENERAL GREY.
His vote in favor of



At the MAYOR'S Feast in LYNN, Sept. 29,
1797.

On the Day of NOMINATION for the
COUNTY, October 8, 1797.

The following

FOR THE COUNTY of NORFOLK

WAS

RETURNED

Page 40, line 8, for And read

Page 40, line 2, for

APPENDIX.

CONSISTING OF

EXTRACTS

FROM THE CELEBRATED

LETTER

CONCERNING

LIBELS, WARRANTS,

AND THE

SEIZURE of PAPERS,

Which has fully explained the Case of

GENERAL WARRANTS,

PROVED THEIR ILLEGALITY,

And has hitherto remained Uncontroverted.

APPENDIX

CONSISTING OF

EXTRACTS

FROM THE CELEBRATED

J. E. R.



CONCERNING

LIBEL WARRANTS

AND THE

SEIZURE OF PAPERS

Which has fully explained the Case of

GENERAL WARRANTS

PROVED THEIR ILLEGALITY

And has hitherto remained Uncontroverted.



Appendix.



COPY OF THE GENERAL WARRANT,

By the illegal Authority of which

JOHN WILKES, Esq;

Member for AYLESBURY,

Was SEIZED in his OWN HOUSE.

‘ GEORGE MONTAGUE DUNK, Earl
‘ of HALIFAX, Viscount Sunbury, and
‘ Baron Halifax, one of the Lords of his
‘ Majesty’s most honourable Privy Council,
‘ *Lieutenant General of his Majesty’s forces,*
‘ and principal Secretary of State.

‘ **T**HESE are in his Majesty’s Name to au-
‘ thorize and require you (taking a consta-
‘ ble to your assistance) to make strict and di-
B ‘ ligent

' diligent search for the authors, printers, and
 ' publishers of a seditious and treasonable pa-
 ' per intitled the North Briton Numb. 45. Sa-
 ' turday April 22, 1763, printed for G. Kearsly
 ' in Ludgate-street, London, and them, or
 ' any of them, having found, to apprehend
 ' or seize together with their papers, and to
 ' bring in safe custody before me, to be ex-
 ' amined concerning the premises, and further
 ' dealt with according to law. And in the due
 ' execution thereof, all Mayors, Sheriffs, Jus-
 ' tices of the peace, Constables, and all other
 ' his Majesty's Officers civil and *military*, and
 ' loving subjects whom it may concern are to
 ' be aiding and assisting to you, as there shall
 ' be occasion, and for so doing this shall be
 ' your warrant. Given at St. James's the 26th
 ' day of April, in the 3d year of his Majesty's
 ' reign. DUNK HALIFAX.

To Nathan Carrington, John
 Money, James Watson and
 Robert Blackmore.

Copy of the commitment of Mr. Wilkes to
close custody in the Tower of London.

' CHARLES earl of EGREMONT and
 ' GEORGE DUNK earl of HALIFAX,
 ' Lords of his Majesty's most Honoura-
 ' ble Privy Council and principal Secreta-
 ' ries of state.
 ' These are in his Majesty's name to autho-
 ' rize and require you to receive into your cus-
 ' tody

' today the body of John Wilkes, Esq; here-
 ' with sent you, for being the author and pub-
 ' lisher of a most infamous and seditious libel,
 ' intitled the North Briton, Number 45, tend-
 ' ing to inflame the minds and alienate the
 ' affections of the people from his Majesty,
 ' and to excite them to traiterous insurrections
 ' against the government. And to keep him
 ' safe and *close*, untill he shall be delivered by
 ' due course of law; for so doing this shall be
 ' your warrant. Given at St. James's the 30th
 ' day of April, 1763, in the third year of his
 ' Majesty's reign.

EGREMONT.

DUNK HALIFAX.

To the Right Honourable Lord
 John Berkeley of Stratton,
 Constable of his Majesty's
 Tower of London, or to the
 Lieutenant of the said Tower
 or his Deputy.

I will now; for a moment, suppose that this
 gentleman had actually wrote, in the hours of
 his wantonness or folly, something that was
 really abusive and scandalous upon some par-
 ticular minister, or upon the administration in
 general. Even in such a case, would any
 gentleman in this kingdom rest one minute at
 ease in his bed, if he thought, that for every
 loose and unguarded, or supposed libellous
 expression, about party-matters, he was liable

not

not only to be taken up himself, but every secret of his family made subject to the inspection of a whole Secretary of State's Office, or indeed, of any man or minister whatever, whilst a parliament was sitting, or had even an existence in the country?

Such a vexatious authority in the crown, is inconsistent with every idea of liberty. It seems to me to be the highest of libels upon the constitution, to pretend, that any usage can justify such an act of arbitrary government. The laws of England, are so tender to every man accused, even of capital crimes, that they do not permit him to be put to torture to extort a confession, nor oblige him to answer a question that will tend to accuse himself. How then can it be supposed, that the law will intrust any officer of the crown, with the power of charging any man in the Kingdom (or, indeed, every man by possibility and nobody in particular) at his will and pleasure, with being the author, printer, or publisher of such a paper, being a libel, and which till a jury has determined to be so, is nothing; and that upon this *charge*, any common fellows under a general warrant, upon their own imaginations, or the surmises of their acquaintance, or upon other worse and more dangerous intimations, may, with a strong hand, seize and carry off all his papers; and then at his trial produce these papers, thus taken by force from him, in evidence against himself; and all this on the charge of a mere misdemeanor, in a country
of

of liberty and property. This would be making a man give evidence against himself, with a vengeance. And this is to be endured, because the prosecutor wants other sufficient proof, and might be traduced for acting groundlessly, if he could not get it; and because he does it, truly, for the sake of *collecting evidence*.

I should not have given myself the trouble of saying thus much in so plain a matter, had it not been for a letter which was printed some time ago, upon this subject, with the names of two noble lords, secretaries of state, subscribed. It is directed 'to Mr. Wilkes,' dated 'Great George-street, May the 7th, 1763,' and contains the following expressions:

'SIR,

'In answer to your letter of yesterday, we acquaint you, that your papers were seized in consequence of the heavy charge brought against you, for being the author of an infamous and seditious libel, for which, notwithstanding your discharge from your commitment to the Tower, his Majesty has ordered you to be prosecuted, by his Attorney-general. Such of your papers as do not lead to a proof of your guilt, shall be restored to you: Such as are necessary for that purpose, it was our duty to deliver over to those, whose office it is to *collect the evidence*, and manage the prosecution against you. We are

'Your humble Servants,

'Egremont.'

'Dunk Halifax.'

Here now is a clear avowal of the principle of taking these papers. The evidence indeed, seems to have been *collected* with as much force, and I believe with as little right by law, as some other collections are made for which the collectors are hanged when taken. I cannot but say, therefore, I am very glad this letter has been published, that the Public may see what is the notion of law in those political offices, that are now attempting to prove their lawless practices to be the ancient common law of the Land.

In such a party-crime, as a public libel, who can endure this assumed authority of taking all papers indiscriminately? When, in such a crime as forgery, or any other felony; or even in that dangerous crime, high treason, by correspondence with traitors, or the king's enemies, all men would cry out against it, and most deservedly! Nothing can be touched, without some criminal charge in law specifically sworn against it. And where there is even a charge against one particular paper, to seize *all*, of every kind, is extravagant, unreasonable, and inquisitorial. It is infamous in theory, and downright tyranny and despotism in practice. We can have no positive liberty or privacy, but must enjoy our correspondencies, friendships, papers, and studies at discretion, that is, at the will and pleasure of the ministers for the time being, and of their inferior agents!

Had Charles the second thought his ministers intitled to this prerogative, he would not
have

have resorted to parliament for sweeping warrants, to search for and seize all seditious and treasonable books and pamphlets. His messenger of the press would have ranged through the shops of the booksellers and printers, and the studies of disaffected persons, that is, of sticklers for liberty, upon the mere warrant of a Secretary of State, or privy counsellor, without the aid of a licensing statute.

And let me here ask a question. If a libel be no actual breach of the peace, and sureties for the peace, or the behaviour, be not demandable of the supposed libeller; by what colour of law, or by what warrant, or *capias*, can any man, charged as the writer or publisher, have his doors or locks broken open, for the apprehension either of himself or his papers? Can such force be authorised by virtue of any legal process whatever, in this species of misdemeanor, before verdict, nay before judgment*?

Never-

* In a printed account of the transaction of Mr. Wilkes's case, it is stated thus: '*The 26th of April*, a general Warrant was issued against the Authors, Printers, and Publishers of No 45, and 49 Persons were apprehended by it before the 29th, and among them a reputable tradesman. This last was taken out of bed from his wife and a child dangerously ill, his house disordered and his papers ransacked, and his person detained three days after his innocence known. *The 29th* the Secretaries of State received complete information that Mr. Wilkes was the author and publisher; and, the general warrant still remaining in the messengers hands, by virtue thereof, on *the 30th*, Mr. Wilkes's house was forcibly entered, his doors and locks broken open, all his papers thrown into a sack and committed to the hands of common messengers, without any schedule or security for

Nevertheless, I have heard, that a candid lawyer has lately engaged for the seizure of papers, declaring 'no government can stand without such a power.' But the speech or the scripture of a trimming man, is not, I hope, to be counted for gospel. And, I am clear, that many glorious governments have stood without it, and that no administration or government ought to stand, that wants it. However, it is easy to foretel that so flattering a subscriber to any political tenets, cannot long himself withstand any thing. He would be able, I should think, if occasion presented, to throw himself at the feet of any Majesty, with as much affection and ardency, as the most prostrate or adulatory of *Hague* ministers. An outward decency and deliberation, in every step,

for the return of them. Mr. Wilkes himself was carried before Lord H. where it was immediately made known, that an *Habeas Corpus* was applied for and expected every moment, but, to avoid the effect of that writ, he was hurried away to the Tower, and there all access was denied to him, as well as the use of pen, ink and paper.' And I will add, from my own knowledge, that those who had the searching of his papers divulged the contents of some private letters, which might have been very prejudicial to the writer of them, and have hurt his interest and his friendship with other friends.

It has been asserted, that in search of M. D'Eon, found a libeller by a Jury, in order to take and bring him into the King's Bench to receive judgment on the verdict, the doors and locks of chambers, closets and scrutores, were broke open; altho' it was denied he was there, and it afterward appeared he was not there. This was said to be done by virtue of a *Capias* from the K. B. but without any information upon oath of his being in such house, and merely upon a slight suspicion, that he might be there, grounded upon his having been seen about two months before going to the house.

step, will enable a man, at last, to serve the more effectually, and even to impose a wrong sense upon the old revolution motto, of *Prodesse quam conspici*. And yet there is, after all, such a thing as outwitting one's self, and being the dupe of one's own cunning, after having made this left-handed wisdom the study of one's life from the tenderest infancy.

The Attorney having slightly passed over the seizure of papers, after talking of it as a mere picture for which he happened to have no taste, *intirely* omits the subsequent grievance of the *close* confinement; and, my son, having somewhat touched that matter in his letter, I shall not expatiate upon the subject, so much at least, as the importance of it would otherwise have inclined me to. Any body, however, who looks at the warrant of commitment, will see the direction to the constable of the Tower, is not merely to keep Mr. Wilkes safe, but “to keep him safe and *close*, until he “shall be delivered by due course of law.” Now, the custody here directed, is unwarrantable by law, in the case of a misdemeanor, nay, in any case.

* * * * *

* * * ‘ The present parliament took
‘ notice of *The North Briton*, No. 45, in con-
‘ sequence of the King’s message, and upon
‘ the mere view of the paper itself, without
‘ inquiring into the truth of any circumstances,
‘ that the author might rely upon, or the pub-
‘ lic’s opinion of his intent thereby, determined

' it unanimously to be a libel; and yet, this
 ' is not only what great Judges esteem a mere
 ' point of law, but what by some is held to be
 ' a very difficult point of law. This was done too
 ' without any previous communication with the
 ' Lords. The Commons even went farther, for
 ' they afterwards called for evidence, in order
 ' to find out who was the author; and it ap-
 ' pearing to them, altho' by witnesses not up-
 ' on oath, that one of their own members was,
 ' they expelled him, after sitting, debating
 ' and deliberating on their conduct 'till half an
 ' hour after three in the morning. Now, this
 ' last was a fact, which by the constitution of
 ' this country, is to be tried by a Jury."

* * * * * ' It is not fit they*
 ' should interfere where the public is not
 ' deeply interested; but where it is, they are
 ' bound to do so, in justice to their represen-
 ' tatives, and they always have done so. Nay,
 ' they have gone further, and where the necessity
 ' was great, they have even come to a reso-
 ' lution in point of law, contrary to the judg-
 ' ment of a court of law, and to the opini-
 ' on of ten out of twelve judges. Where they
 ' suspected any undue influence, either in the
 ' exertion or the support of the Prerogative,
 ' by officers of the crown, or by Judges, they
 ' have always interposed. Is it possible to
 ' forget, or to controvert, either their con-
 ' duct, or the propriety of it, in the great case
 ' of ship-money?

' The

* The House of Commons.

* * * * * ' The same parlia-
 ' ment likewise took notice even of the trans-
 ' actions in another kingdom, and resolved
 ' that several proceedings by the Lord Lieute-
 ' ant of Ireland were unjust and illegal; and
 ' that the Judges there were fit to be ques-
 ' tioned as criminal, for their extrajudicial pro-
 ' ceedings and opinions. From multitudes of
 ' instances, where the commons have come to
 ' a resolution with respect to matters of law,
 ' I have only selected a few, in order to shew,
 ' that they have done so, when the House was
 ' filled with great, constitutional lawyers, where
 ' the same point had been already and dif-
 ' ferently determined by a court of law, and
 ' even by all the Judges: in matters of univer-
 ' sal concern, and in particular cases, and
 ' even with respect to libellers, in points of
 ' both common and Ecclesiastical law; *within*
 ' and *without* the realm of England; and that this
 ' they have done without any conference with
 ' the Lords, and not as a FOUNDATION
 ' for ANY BILL, and, yet their resolution
 ' has been obeyed and conformed to ever
 ' since as law, by *every court* of judicature in
 ' the kingdom. A resolution of the present
 ' House of Commons would be equally re-
 ' spected, I doubt not, whatever big words
 ' any man may throw out to the contrary, by
 ' every Judge; and I never knew a dealer in
 ' such sort of speech that had a single grain of
 ' *true spirit* or bottom, when he came to be
 ' tried. This being the practice of these guar-
 ' dians

'dians of the people's rights, upon former
 ' occasions, makes me more curious than ever
 ' to know, what it was that influenced the pre-
 ' sent parliament, after inquiry and proof of
 ' General Warrants being clearly contrary to
 ' law, to refrain from condemning the usage
 ' of them. The more especially, as it will
 ' appear hereafter by the Votes and Journals,
 ' that a gross complaint had been made of the
 ' abuse of these warrants, in the case of one
 ' of their own Members, and that THE DE-
 ' BATE UPON THE QUESTION OF
 ' THEIR VALIDITY, had been THE LONG-
 ' EST to be met with since Parliaments have
 ' had a BEING.* *We who are living know very*
 ' *well from the members of all parties, that nobody*
 ' *attempted to vindicate the legality of these war-*
 ' *rants; but our posterity will not have the same*
 ' *oral satisfaction, and must naturally conclude,*
 ' *from their not being declared illegal, accor-*
 ' *ding to the ancient usage of the House in mat-*
 ' *ters of like universal concern, that something*
 ' *appeared which rendered the point of law*
 ' *very problematical.* Indeed, it must from rea-
 ' son seem to every reader, that altho' the
 ' House

* Sir Armine Wodehouse and Col. De Grey, in their adver-
 tisement of October 31, 1767, express themselves in the follow-
 ing words:

" We do declare, that NO QUESTION upon the *Legality*
 " or *Illegality* of General Warrants was ever MOVED in the
 " House."

This, perhaps, was the most extraordinary, and the boldest
 declaration ever made publick ly any two representatives in
 parliament, being in manifest contradiction to the PRINTED
 VOTES of their OWN HOUSE.

' House inquired into the matter, on account of
 ' its infinite consequence, yet, that it could not
 ' be warranted in passing a censure upon those
 ' who had used these warrants, nay, was on
 ' the contrary obliged to hold them justified,
 ' and to discharge the complaint against them,
 ' however much the House might wish to damn
 ' such warrants, if not in all cases, yet, at least,
 ' in that of misdemeanors and libels, and with
 ' that view had apparently narrowed the first
 ' proposed resolution to one of a particular na-
 ' ture. The natural conclusion † from the
 ' printed votes and journals must be, that the
 ' Commons could not find a ground for con-
 ' demning General Warrants in all cases, or
 ' even in the single case of a libel, altho' ac-
 ' companied with an order to seize papers; in-
 ' somuch, that I should think an able man
 ' would hereafter alledge the present proceed-
 ' ings, as a *justification* not only of these Gene-
 ' ral Warrants, for the seizure of persons, but
 ' also of papers, even in the case of a misde-
 ' meanor, so that this usage will be apt to
 ' gain strength from what has passed, as *non*
 ' *regredi est progredi* in such an enterprize as
 ' this.

' The single obiter saying of a Judge at *Nisi*
 ' *prius*, or even the judgment of a court of
 ' Law, will not be sufficient to restrain future
 ' ministers, hurt by what is published against
 ' them, from using this general, sweeping pow-
 ' er

† Vide the printed Votes of Jan. 20, Feb. 10, 13, 14, and
 17, 1764.

'er, when they find, that a House of Com-
 'mons will not interfere in the case, except to
 'vindicate the persons who use it. For which
 'reasons, I wish, with all my heart, this af-
 'fair had never been agitated in parliament;
 'because I am sorry that any time-serving
 'Judge hereafter, should have so good a pre-
 'text for using his discretion in the determina-
 'tion of the point, and for not being afraid of
 'Parliaments calling him to an account for
 'what he should do.'

* * * * *

'As to what he has said with regard to the
 'insignificance of the mere resolution of the
 'house of Commons, I do recollect that some-
 'thing of a like sort was flung out by one learned
 'gentleman, who, indeed, closed the whole
 'of his argument on this point, by saying,
 'that "had he the honour of presiding in any
 "court of law, he should regard such a re-
 "solution no more than he would that of so
 "many drunken* porters in Covent Garden."
 'It would not, perhaps be "a judicial deter-
 "mination of the law, which might be plead-
 "ed in a court of judicature, and would only
 "be a declaration of the sense of the law,"
 'BY ALL THE COMMONS OF ENG-
 'LAND. And without doubt, if the resolution
 'of

* This is a defiance thrown out against the representatives of
 all the Commons of England with a vengeance! This will
 convey to the reader an idea of what sort of complexion the
 supporters of General Warrants were, and that nothing would
 have stop'd them, if they had carried this point so much con-
 tended for.

‘ of one house would be of no weight with
 ‘ this gentleman, the resolutions of BOTH
 ‘ HOUSES would be of none. Nothing but
 ‘ the concurrence of King, Lords and Com-
 ‘ mons will do for him. And yet, I dare
 ‘ say, he would be confoundedly frightened
 ‘ with a single vote of either House, should
 ‘ he live to experience it. I will not say, that
 ‘ the two houses have ever gone so far as to
 ‘ *make* law, altho’, I believe, they have gone
 ‘ so far as to make a King; but this, I am sure
 ‘ of, that they have very often *declared* what
 ‘ the law was in very great points, and this
 ‘ is all that was contended for. In times more
 ‘ remote, when houses of Commons were not
 ‘ so scrupulous, they have frequently come to
 ‘ resolutions declaratory of the law; as any one
 ‘ may see, by reading an account of their
 ‘ proceedings in the reign of Charles the First,
 ‘ when headed by Sir Edward Coke, Selden,
 ‘ Glanville, and the great lawyers of those days:
 ‘ and this right they continued to claim and to
 ‘ exercise when Mr. Somers, Serjeant May-
 ‘ nard, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Win-
 ‘ nington and other lawyers, undertook to con-
 ‘ duct them prior to the Revolution, which last
 ‘ transaction, altho’ *wearing away very fast* in
 ‘ remembrance, is a period of history not yet
 ‘ absolutely forgotten. At that time, some of
 ‘ the men I have named were thought to *un-*
 ‘ *derstand* the *constitution*; they had lived in
 ‘ the ticklish times, and studied it closely.

‘ But

' But without entering into all the obliquities
 ' of chicanery, which may be practised to delay
 ' for two years together, if not entirely to pre-
 ' vent, any determination; there are many
 ' people who will never believe, that for such
 ' a reason alone, any House of Commons, in
 ' an essential point of liberty, touching one of
 ' their own members, would wait, especially
 ' in a clear case where the law was not doubt-
 ' ful, to see what might or might not be done
 ' in any inferior court, but would immediate-
 ' ly come to a strong resolution in behalf of
 ' the subject at large, that should in their prin-
 ' ted votes pervade the whole kingdom; and
 ' not leave any country gentleman, or other
 ' unlearned man, in a future case of a like
 ' sort, to send for information to some practiti-
 ' oner of the law, before he could tell what to
 ' do in the matter.

' Where the *birthright* and *immemorial fran-*
 ' *chise* of the subject has been broken, why
 ' should not the Commons, when assembled,
 ' come to a resolution; after a complaint made
 ' to them, the fact apparent, the law certain;
 ' Would it not have been constitutional? Would
 ' it not have been satisfactory? When it was
 ' directly advanced, that it would be an insult
 ' on the understanding of mankind, to pretend
 ' that the usage of a political office could over-
 ' turn or suspend the law of the land; did any
 ' one man attempt to gainsay or contradict the
 ' position? And if a recent determination at
 ' law by any Judge had been upon the point;
 ' is

' is it not an additional reason for the House
 ' not hesitating about a DAMNATORY RE-
 ' SOLUTION? Or, if as was before urged,
 ' perhaps a little *inconsistently*, the point by
 ' some means or other, was still hanging un-
 ' decided in the courts below; was it not so
 ' much the more necessary for the parliament
 ' to prevent any suspense thereby in people's
 ' minds, about their CLEAR BIRTHRIGHT?
 ' Nay, as every body knows that the present
 ' House of Commons is *independent*, whatever
 ' others may have been; will not the recep-
 ' tion, the discussion by the *LONGEST DE-
 ' BATE in the journals of parliament, and the
 ' subsequent suspense and indecision of the point,
 ' make men who had no doubt before, begin
 ' to doubt a little now? What should make a
 ' free, constitutional and independent part of
 ' the legislature, when appealed to by one of
 ' its own members, (I may say fled to, as an
 ' asylum from the violence of those pretending
 ' the authority of the crown,) refuse to come
 ' to a decisive resolution in favour of their own
 ' and every other Englishman's boasted inheri-
 ' tance? May not this create a doubt in many
 ' a sensible man's mind where there was none
 ' before? If the times had been arbitrary, men
 ' might have thought the crown perhaps had
 ' interposed, and that the Commons were there-
 ' fore afraid to persist in the assertion even of their
 ' known rights. But there not being the least
 ' ground now for such a surmise, it will make
 D ' many

* See Sir Armine and Mr. De Grey's advertisement again.

many men at a loss how to account for the par-
 liament's taking the matter, considering it, and
 then coming to no resolution at all, but ad-
 journed it **SINE DIE**. The point was so
 great, that never were the **EYES** of **MAN-**
KIND more **FIXED** upon their **REPRESEN-**
TATIVES. Indeed, I never saw more stir
 in the House itself, every body pressing his
 friend to stay and vote; the Secretaries of the
 Treasury, and other men of consequence,
 were remarkably active; and every thing
 wore the face of a decisive day. Why, af-
 ter all, no resolution was come to, I never
 could learn. I am sure what has been urged
 without doors, has not the least semblance of
 reason or constitution. Indeed in all my reading
 of past times, I have never met with any like
 it. On such points, the Commons ever used
 to proceed to a strong resolution. What
 therefore influenced the ministers on that day,
 I cannot guess, unless it be what I *dare not*
name. The common report is, that they
 carried their point, in coming to no resolution,
 but by *fourteen*; that during the debate, they
 were apprehensive the majority would be
 against them; that many of their very best
 friends voted, and some even spoke against
 them; that some sons left their fathers, and
 others with difficulty went out of town; that
 many members who had not attended the
 whole session before, came down, some from
 sick-beds, others from foreign parts; and
 yet after all, altho' the House sat two days on
 the

‘ the matter, the first day from three in the
 ‘ afternoon through the whole night, till near
 ‘ seven the next morning, and the other day
 ‘ till half an hour after five in the morning,
 ‘ the deciding reasons against coming to the re-
 ‘ solution proposed, prevailed only by a ma-
 ‘ jority of *fourteen*. The crowd and agitation
 ‘ of people about the House was inexpressible;
 ‘ substantial old citizens, who could not sleep
 ‘ from concern, stopped members as they pass-
 ‘ ed in their chairs, to know the event; in
 ‘ short, the face of mankind could not shew
 ‘ more distress, if the constitution had been
 ‘ actually given up to a Stuart, in one of it’s
 ‘ most essential and vital parts, by a *Tory and*
 ‘ *passively obedient* parliament. And why all
 ‘ this? I am curious to know; I must again
 ‘ from my heart declare, and I conjure,
 ‘ therefore, those who do know, to give the
 ‘ public their reasons for the same.

‘ What “necessity of peculiar circumstances,”
 ‘ *the Attorney may think there should be
 ‘ “absolutely to require their interposition,” I
 ‘ know not: but I should imagine these few
 ‘ circumstances would be fully sufficient; name-
 ‘ ly, that the act complained of was commit-
 ‘ ted in time of *public tranquility*, without a
 ‘ *colour of law*, by a King’s minister, upon
 ‘ one of the *representatives* of the *people*, in
 ‘ a free country, on a charge of the most
 ‘ disputable of all crimes, which is at most but
 ‘ a *misdemeanor*; when too, however apparent-
 ‘ ly

D 2

* The Author he is answering.

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 ‘ a free country, on a charge of the most
 ‘ disputable of all crimes, which is at most but
 ‘ a *misdemeanor*; when too, however apparent-

D 2

‘ ly

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‘ly libellous the words might seem without
 ‘doors, *perhaps* (to borrow a common word
 ‘with the Attorney) no man would say, they
 ‘would have been deemed *libellous*, had they
 ‘been uttered by any member in his place.
 ‘*within* doors, since the memorable case of
 ‘The FIVE MEMBERS.’

I will now take leave, and apply to the
 present subject what a great man, a *Tory* too,
 said on another occasion, with a change of
 three words only. This great man was

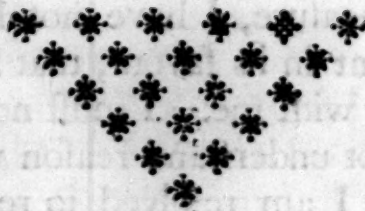
Sir WILLIAM WYNDHAM, father of
 the late earl of *Egremont*, and of Mrs. *George*
Grenville, and *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer* for
 the *Tories* under Queen *Anne*. He was com-
 mitted to the *Tower* for HIGH TREASON in
 1715, and delivered under the Habeas Corpus
 Act in 1716; and his case under that statute
 was the great case urged in favour of Mr.
 WILKES, when brought up by Habeas Cor-
 pus to the Common Pleas, in order to be de-
 livered from a commitment to the TOWER,
 by his SON, for a *Libel*.

‘SIR,

‘In all the variety of company I have kept,
 ‘I have never heard a single man without
 ‘doors pretend to justify this measure; and
 ‘when the sentiments of particulars were such,
 ‘I did not expect, when they were met toge-
 ‘ther in a body, to see a majority vote for
 ‘it. This must be owing to one of these
 ‘causes:

' causes: either gentlemen were convinced by,
 ' the arguments made use of in the House
 ' for justifying this measure, or there are o-
 ' ther methods of convincing besides reason.
 ' I am not at liberty to suppose it the latter,
 ' therefore I must suppose it the former. But
 ' this, Sir, is to me a very melancholly confi-
 ' deration; for, though I have attended with
 ' the utmost regard to all that has been said
 ' upon this measure, I have not heard a sin-
 ' gle argument in its favour, that has had the
 ' least weight with me. I must now conclude
 ' that I do not understand reason when I hear
 ' it, therefore I am resolved to retire. How-
 ' ever, I must beg gentlemen to consider the
 ' consequences. This adjournment is intended
 ' to convince mankind, that the measure now
 ' under consideration is a reasonable and an ho-
 ' norable measure for this nation; but if a majo-
 ' rity of fourteen, in such a full House, should
 ' fail of that success; if the people should not
 ' implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this
 ' House, what will be the consequence? Will
 ' not the Parliament lose its authority? Will it
 ' not be thought that even in Parliament, we
 ' are governed by a faction? For my own
 ' part, I will trouble you no more, but with
 ' these my last words, " I sincerely pray to
 ' Almighty God, who has so wonderfully pro-
 ' tected these kingdoms, that he will graciously
 ' continue his protection over them, by preser-
 ' ving us from that impending danger which
 ' threatens

‘ threatens the nation from without, and like-
 ‘ wise that impending danger which threatens
 ‘ our constitution from within.”



F I N I S.

17 NO 68